

A MURDER OF CROWS

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"WE ARE THE BIRDS OF THE COMING STORM" - AUGUST SPIES



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A MURDER OF CROWS

"WE ARE THE BIRDS OF THE COMING STORM" - AUGUST SPIES

We do not assume that our world is inevitably heading towards a libratory transformation of social relations. Misery, work, starvation, slavery, war, and ecological degradation are present on a scale never before seen. Why would we think we could have any effect upon this state of affairs? How could we believe that we can change the ever-accelerating rush towards a bleak future of greater social control and ecological collapse? Because we are unwilling to lie down and eat shit while we are around.

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If there is a choice between cynicism and hopelessness or a determined and focused attack on the present institutions of domination, we choose the latter. While it may be true that the odds are stacked against us, there are thousands of instances of resistance, revolt and mutual aid that indicate the possibility of subverting the present social order and of relating in radically different ways. Some of these actions have come from the dispossessed and others have emerged from the revolutionary minority. Thus our choice stems not from blind idealism or hopeful naiveté but rather from a desire and willingness to fight against the immiseration that surrounds us.

This struggle in which we find ourselves is confronted on all sides by those who would prefer to see things stay as they are, though perhaps with a more friendly face. Activists, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), parties and unions are attempting to channel discontent into state-sanctioned avenues for change. There are calls to build mass movements, to revitalize the unions, to protest endlessly against corporations, to vote in referendums, to support our community leaders, or dozens of other schemes which serve only to defuse social conflict. Democratic ideology and the left smother social combativeness beneath their talk of rights, dialogue, and reconciliation. We seek a decisive break with this state of affairs, and propose a praxis based on direct action, autonomous self-organization, conflictuality, and revolutionary solidarity.

Unfortunately, there is a sad lack of communication between those who would prefer to bury this system, rather than reform it. One might hear the occasional event announcement or action report, but there is rarely in-depth discussion and debate regarding our projects. Thus a primary intention of this journal is to encourage greater critical thought concerning methods and strategies employed in social struggle. In doing so we hope to share analysis of events and initiatives, exposing strengths and weaknesses of particular projects. This sharing of critique will be done with the purpose of developing approaches to social struggle that are informed by the success and failures of past attempts, while encouraging further experimentation in attacking the social order.

Due to the reality of repression, both past and present, it is necessary to have an honest and up-front discussion of the state's attempts to suppress

social struggle. Many social movements have not only been defeated by harassment, frame-ups, lengthy prison sentences, and assassination, but also by cooptation and recuperation. Thus for us, repression presents not a few problems. Therefore we must choose our battles wisely, keeping in mind the possible consequences, but also realizing that these consequences do not guarantee our defeat. The state's ability to neutralize revolt can only extend as far as we let it. Our strength in repressive situations lies in the possibility of others acting in solidarity against our repression, in the same way that we would act in solidarity against theirs.

Thus we have an immense task at hand, but we have no illusions about our role. We are a specific element within the social war, not the vanguard, nor mere supporters of the struggle of others. What we seek is a break with servitude, the spread of revolt, the firing of imagination and the sprouting of mutual aid and solidarity. These are our dreams, but they are also very real possibilities that can be brought about through concrete action.

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WE ARE MUCH TOO YOUNG TO WAIT



The revolt that exploded with determination and persistence in the French *banlieues* (with flare-ups in Belgium, Berlin and Athens) is animated by the lively rage of young *casseurs*, human beings who, like so many around the world, suffer endless condemnation to a daily life that is nothing but dissatisfaction, misery, humiliation and exploitation. The acts of these wild youths, which the “right-thinking,” priggish bourgeoisie simplistically write off with contempt as violence for its own sake, reveal a much more subtle meaning, laying bare the violence of an economic-social system that imposes increasingly dehumanizing obligations in its own interests and in the interest of the few who benefit from it: a useless and harmful job in exchange for a wage to pay back to the masters for homes, goods or “free” time. And just as this legalized violence is not blind, but sees quite clearly against whom it is acting, so also the *casseurs* are quite aware when they vent their hatred against cops, cars, businesses, commercial centers and other symbols of isolation and power.

The riots that are going on attack two levels of state intervention at the same time: the police deployed to keep an eye on and punish the poor, and the car to be paid off in installments -symbol of individual “independence,” of consumption, of time on credit.

To drag in religious motives -as the right has done- is a pathetic attempt to stem the revolt. The excommunications of the Islamic authorities have not stopped these enraged people who do not recognize any mediators. So it is here that a more democratic politician or commentator from the left comes to concede, if not a justification, at least a motivation to the episodes that are overturning the horrifying normality of the *banlieues*: these invisible outskirts are an example of the degradation that bad administrations ignore, thus allowing their inhabitants, who are mostly immigrants that society does not

want to integrate, to nourish a most uncontrollable rage. Thus, a plan for urban “requalification” is supposed to be necessary, perhaps entrusting the project to some architectural standards and following the principles of bio-architecture (or more simply those of a more effective social control). But from New York to Paris, from London to Ramallah, ghettos are the very form of the market and of politics. The latest illusions of the integration of the poor are burned up together in the blazes of Clichy-sous-Bois. No one seems to ask what cities have become. Doesn’t anyone even notice that the “most rational” urban plans serve to obliterate the natural -and with it the human- environment, paving and building solely in order to give priority to the circulation of commodities and consumer-workers, to the detriment of human circulation and communication? Cities are containers of capital and human resources to invest and exploit. What then are a few hundred cars burned and other sad places damaged in comparison to the millions of people who are damaged and destroyed every day by those who impose the usual, senseless and boring life on them?

It seems unlikely that this revolt will become generalized. To achieve this, it would be necessary for each and every common mortal, pen-pushers mechanized by stereotypes and daily rhythms, to decide to become aware of the need to put an end to this system -the sole true cause of the misery which we suffer- sabotaging it once and for all.

We joyfully greet these manifestations of the refusal and destruction of everything that represents and contributes to exploitation, brutalization and destruction of the human being.

**LONG LIVE THE WILD YOUTHS OF FRANCE!
SOCIAL WAR AGAINST CAPITAL!**

Some friends of the “riffraff”

SOLIDARITY IS A WEAPON

ON THE RECENT WAVE OF REPRESSION



On December 7, 2005, six people, Chelsea Gerlach, Bill Rodgers, Sarah Harvey, Kevin Tubbs, Daniel McGowan and Stanislas "Jack" Meyerhoff, were arrested for allegedly taking part in a wide variety of attacks claimed by the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). On that very same day, several people across Oregon were subpoenaed to testify before a grand jury in Eugene, Oregon. One of those served with a subpoena, Darren Thurston (a Canadian citizen), was also arrested and is now facing charges related to false documents. Within days it was revealed that informants, including Jacob Ferguson, a lifelong friend of one of the accused, were used to gather information. It was also revealed that Meyerhoff had turned state's witness.

In a terrible turn of events, on December 22, Bill Rodgers was found dead in his cell in Flagstaff, Arizona from an apparent suicide. Bill worked at the Catalyst Bookstore and Infoshop in Prescott, Arizona and was involved in ecological struggles for many years in different parts of the United States. According to those who were in contact with him and a news story, which interviewed one of his supporters, Bill was doing well despite the terrible circumstances. His death came as a

shock to many, both to those who did not know him and especially to those who did. Bill's passing is a loss to all of us and the loss of someone who cared immensely about people and the world in which we live. There is much more to be said about his life, and even more to be done about his death, but it is important to remember that we can honor his death by continuing to struggle.¹

On January 20, 2006 federal prosecutors and Attorney General Alberto Gonzales announced a 65-count indictment of 11 individuals related to 17 attacks in the northwest. In addition to the six people arrested on December 7, 2005, it also indicted Jonathan Paul, Suzanne Savoie, Joseph Dibee, Rebecca Rubin and Josephine Overaker. Paul and Savoie, who were originally subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury, were both arrested in Oregon only days before the indictment was announced, and Dibee, Rubin and Overaker are luckily out of the country. In the weeks that followed five individuals were revealed as "confidential sources" for the government's case (see sidebar below), and on February 23 two individuals in Olympia, Washington, Nathan Fraser Block and Joyanna L. Zacher, were arrested and indicted in connection with the May 2001 arson at a Clatskanie, Oregon tree farm. It has become painfully obvious that the government intends to bury each one of these people to set an example for anyone even thinking of taking action.

Strike One to Paralyze a Thousand

One of the main motivations behind the arrests and subpoenas is undoubtedly the state's need to halt the multitude of direct actions undertaken by the ELF. The FBI has labeled them, along with the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), the greatest domestic "terrorist" threat, and with good rea-

son. What began as a few attacks in the late '90s, has blossomed into scores of direct actions across the U.S. against a wide variety of targets including suburban developments, car dealerships, genetic engineering labs and crops, logging sites, and more. Also many attacks claimed by the ELF overstepped the bounds of simply fighting ecological devastation, and were linked to situations of wider struggle such as the attack against an Army recruiting station in Alabama, an attempted arson of a water bottling plant in Michigan.

Many have come to recognize that the fight against ecological destruction has many fronts and that striking the enemy, while dangerous, is quite simple. Radical participation in social struggles, attacking structures of power, and rejecting compromise and reconciliation with those who are destroying our lives and our world are the real cause for the State's fear. Thus they round up those on their watch-lists, hoping to make an example of them in order to frighten others into submission, to halt any attempts at solidarity for fear of being swept up as well, and to make us remember that the state is master of orchestrating violence.

The Real Terrorists

The U.S. government exploited the attacks on the World Trade Center that occurred in 2001, using the specter of terrorism to attack many social movements and to frighten people into acceptance of the most invasive "security" measures.² This strategy has been used in the current wave of repression, with each of the accused being fitted-up as eco-terrorists. For the state, anyone who refuses institutional channels for dissent, or who chooses not to simply have an opinion and take direct action, is a terrorist, an extremist, and an enemy of freedom. It is

ironic that states across the world vehemently denounce "terrorist violence" while at the same time causing more death, destruction and misery than any so-called terrorist groups.

None of the attacks for which the accused are charged harmed a single person, which is more than can be said for companies like Union Carbide and Freeport-McMoRan, who are responsible for the deaths of thousands in India and West Papua. It is the same for the U.S. government, who is responsible for killing well over 30,000 Iraqi civilians in the last three years of war, and millions of others in Southeast Asia and Latin America in wars of counter-insurgency. It is clear that the real terrorists are those who arrested and rounded-up the accused, and not the other way around.

A Link in the Chain

Since the 1960s the state has repeatedly used grand juries to target forces antagonistic to it: the Black Panthers, the American Indian Movement (AIM), and animal and earth liberation groups. Composed of 16 to 23 jurors, grand juries do not actually decide innocence or guilt. Rather, they decide whether or not there is probable cause to charge someone. Unlike a normal court hearing, there is no judge, nor are those subpoenaed entitled to legal counsel within the courtroom. Instead the hearings are conducted in secret, with defendants who are forced to testify or face jail time. Grand juries are used to divide and isolate individuals, to turn social fighters against one another and to break the bonds of friendship and affinity that form the basis for social movements.³

In 2005 three grand juries targeting activists were convened: one in San Diego and two in San Francisco. The grand jury in San Diego was convened to look into a 2003 ELF arson that destroyed a large apartment building under construction in the University City district. One in San Francisco targeted former Black Panther members for a bombing at an Ingleside police station over 30 years ago and the other targeted animal rights activists for possible connection with the bombing of a pharmaceutical company. Three people refused to testify before the San Diego grand jury and spent several months in prison and five ex-Panthers refused to testify in San Francisco. The former panthers were imprisoned for two

CONFIRMED SNITCHES

The following individuals have agreed to provide information against the accused:

Jacob Ferguson (Eugene, OR)
Sarah Harvey (Flagstaff, AZ)
Jen Kolar (Seattle, WA)
Jack Meyerhoff (in Federal Custody)
Kevin Tubbs (in Federal Custody)

months and were only released when the grand jury's time limit expired. The other grand jury in San Francisco was reconvened in late January 2006 and concerned animal rights activity as well. It is apparent that the state is taking action against current movements and is also trying to settle old scores in a time when political repression seems to be well tolerated.

It is important to remember, however, that repression experienced by activists and radicals is not abnormal and cannot be separated from other aspects of state repression. Across the U.S., the government and mass media are attempting to scapegoat undocumented immigrants, so-called "illegals," portraying them as terrorists, criminals and leaches on American people (while at the same time creating opportunities for businesses to legally employ them for extremely low wages). This has led to increased support for the further militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, for round-ups and especially for deportations of immigrants. Aside from this new upsurge in anti-immigrant sentiment, there is the daily repression faced by working class people across the board, and specifically communities of color. The U.S. has the largest prison population in the world, and hundreds of people are beaten, shot and killed each year by the police. From our perspective, the prison system, which helps maintain social peace, is an instrument of daily terror masquerading under the guise of law and order.

A Thousand Daggers, One Voice

Thus we are faced with a dilemma, what to do in the face of repression? First and foremost, when the state focuses its repressive apparatus on radicals, it must be fought. Thus this is no time for becoming quiet and closing in on ourselves in hopes of weathering the storm. Quite the opposite, it is time for increased struggle and solidarity with comrades facing repression. Supporting the accused through monetary donations is important, but revolutionary solidarity must go beyond simple support campaigns. This type of solidarity is based on the recognition that struggles are intimately intertwined, of the way in which the exploitation and repression of others and our own fate are connected, and it also demonstrates the points at which capitalism and the State operate in similar ways in very different places.

Comrades in Greece are particularly active when it comes to showing revolutionary solidarity. Following the European Union summit in Thessaloniki in 2003, seven people from Spain, Greece, and England were arrested. The Greek government wanted to scapegoat these seven, threatening them with long prison sentences. Rather than appealing to the state, anarchist comrades decided to play their own game. Demonstrations occurred at the prison where the seven were being held, at the home of the prime minister, and in city squares across Greece. These demonstrations were complimented by occupations of universities in Athens, Hyraklios and Thessaloniki, and by occupations of radio stations in order to broadcast solidarity statements and the statements of the prisoners. Also the headquarters of various political parties were attacked with molotov cocktails as were many banks, all in support of those who were being held by the Greek state. Clearly this strategy differs significantly from the sad and ineffectual petitioning that passes for solidarity in most countries.

Therefore revolutionary solidarity also implies attacking power ourselves. Rather than playing the state's game of compromise and negotiation, we can pursue our own course of action. In light of the current crackdown in the U.S., comrades in Spain and France have demonstrated their support. On the night of December 31, 2005, the ALF liberated 28 beagles from the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine at the Independent University of Madrid in memory of Bill Rodgers. Another action undertaken in memory of Bill, occurred in the town of Arles in France. There the ALF torched a bus belonging to a bullfighting organization. Those in France and Spain who carried out these actions did so with the recognition that their struggle is linked to Bill's and his to theirs. This leaves us with a thousand and one possibilities for attack: against repression, against ecological devastation, against war, against the industrial system, against work and so on.

It is important to remember that certain actions could adversely affect the outcome of any political trial, so intelligent choices must be made. One particular case that comes to mind concerns Jeff "Free" Luers. Prior to his sentencing an attack occurred against the same exact car dealership that he was accused of targeting. A communiqué was issued claiming responsibility for the attack, and Free and his co-defendant Critter were men-

tioned in it. Some speculate that this action may have contributed to his nearly 23-year sentence. But, caution and inaction are two very different things. There are a multitude of things that can be done to support the accused and combat repression: street demonstrations, fund-raising, holding public meetings, increasing struggle against the real eco-terrorists, and attempting to radicalize and connect current social struggles.⁴

So we have a choice, we can run and hide or fight back. If we give the state an inch, it will certainly take a mile, therefore we must stand firm in the face of repression. Repression is being meted out precisely because the social situation is becoming more precarious and because the types of actions for which the defendants are accused are dangerous to the state. So solidarity is not simply raising money for legal defense and pleading to the state for leniency. Instead it is an attack on power, and choosing to attack is not only refusing to bow down, but also contributing to the wider atmosphere of social combativity. In many countries a simple slogan abounds: solidarity is a weapon. Let us put it into practice.

Kellen Kass

Notes

1. One can find more information about Bill Rodgers and the Catalyst Infoshop online at www.catalystinfoshop.org
2. This is not some exceptional case, as the very nature of government is to maintain social peace at all costs. The attacks of September 11, 2001 simply provided an ideological justification for corralling public sentiment, or it could be said -indifference- to accepting a more aggressive and focused attack on social struggles.
3. More information on grand juries can be found on the www.fbiwitchhunt.com
4. More information on Free can be found at www.freefreenow.org

RESOURCES

Chelsea Gerlach #1308678
Lane County Jail
101 W 5th Ave
Eugene, OR 97401
www.supportchelsea.org

Darren Thurston #701415
Multnomah County Inverness Jail
11540 NE Inverness Dr.
Portland, OR 97220
www.freedarren.org

Nathan Fraser Block 36359-086
FDC SeaTac
Federal Detention Center
P.O. Box 13900
Seattle, WA 98198*

Joyanna Lynn Zacher 36360-086
FDC SeaTac
Federal Detention Center
P.O. Box 13900
Seattle, WA 98198*

Support for Daniel McGowan
www.supportdaniel.org

Suzanne Savoie Support Group
friendsofsuzannesavoie@yahoo.com

**North American Earth Liberation
Prisoners Support Network**
www.ecoprisoners.org

*Nathan and Joyanna will soon be transferred to Oregon.

FRAGMENTS FROM ARGENTINA



Dear Comrades:

Insurrectionary anarchism in Argentina is not of old age. What's more is that the writings of Alfredo Bonanno, Constantino Cavalleri, etc., except for *The Anarchist Tension* and a few others, are practically unknown amongst anarchists, even amongst those who consider themselves insurrectionists. A lack of awareness of these writings is not accidental, since the anarchist movement of Argentina has been reformist for the greater part of its history, and has rejected all attempts, whether by individuals or affinity groups, to break with the status quo.

Despite the lack of knowledge of large parts of the theory and praxis of insurrectionary anarchists, individuals and affinity groups have begun to propagate texts such as *The Anarchist Tension*, *At Daggers Drawn*, those by Cavalleri (about prisons and about post-industrial capitalism), things from *Willful Disobedience*, either as translations from the website **Palabras de Guerra**, or translated imperfectly by various comrades here. This effort has borne fruit, and with great help from a few web pages, has allowed for the spread

of experiences and the materialization of local experiences. The list of publications that can be considered insurrectionary are *Confrontación* (1 issue), *Disarmo* from Rosario (10 issues), *La Anarquía* (6 issues), *Nihil* (2 issues), *Aullidos Nocturnos* (Howls in the Night, 4 issues), the site **La Coordinación Anticarceraria del Río de la Plata**,* which involves individuals from Argentina and Uruguay and the webpage **Mariposas del Caos** (Butterflies of Chaos), which hosts a large number of texts and publications.

Also of great importance, it has resulted in the participation of insurrectionist individuals at the Anarchist Conference in Rosario, which despite being organized by the AIF (a platformist group), there were many workshops, which referred to insurrectionary anarchism, and a big debate occurred confronting the platformists of the OSL and of the neo-platformists of Red Libertaria.

The practice of insurrectionary anarchists is not limited to this however. Demonstrations were held at the embassies of Colombia and Germany, because of the death of a young Colombian anarchist on May Day and in solidarity with the Aachen 4. Likewise anarchist action continued

with attacks against Italian interests, against the Summit of the Americas in November 2005 in Mar del Plata and Buenos Aires, and solidarity with prisoners in Uruguay.

Insurrectionary anarchism in Argentina, if we use a concept that I find repugnant, is very weak. It is not comparable to Spain or Italy, but the interesting thing is the emergence of individuals in search of affinities and accomplices who are insurrectionists, who reject any compromise or evolutionary ideas, which make up the majority of Argentine anarchism. Our limitations include isolation, a lack of contacts outside of the country and to more important centers of activity, the absence of books, pamphlets etc. which we copy ourselves, as well as mail to other comrades. This is insufficient and many writings remain unknown due to this reason.

Recently a public action took place against the Summit of the Americas, organized specifically by anarchists under the name Fire to the Summit. It was held in a public plaza in Mar del Plata and involved a decent number of people.

This is but a short and incomplete list of what is happening in Argentina. We don't have information on all of the activities carried out in solidarity with comrades in Italy or with the Thessaloniki 7, most of which are passed around through word of mouth or by e-mail.

Pablo

Note

*The Anti-Prison Coordination of the Rio de la Plata

Sites of Interest:

La Anarquía

www.geocities.com/edic_insumisos

La Coordinación Anticarceraria del Río de la Plata

www.anticarceraria.info

Mariposas del Caos

www.mariposasdelcaos.cjb.net

ACTION IN ARGENTINA

May 13, 2005- A demonstration was held by various anarchist groups at the Colombian embassy in Buenos Aires against the murder of young anarchist in Bogotá. The building was spray painted, and was attacked with rocks and Molotov cocktails. The building's guards were attacked as well.

May 16, 2005- A demonstration in solidarity with the Aachen 4 was held at the German embassy in Buenos Aires. The building was spray-painted and flyers were handed out.

August 11, 2005- In Buenos Aires, an office of the Dante Alighieri Institute and central office of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro were attacked with explosives in the early morning hours. These actions were undertaken in solidarity with imprisoned comrades in Italy.

August 22, 2005- Three offices of La Banca Nazionale del Lavoro had their locks glued, as did one office of the Dante Alighieri Institute. "Freedom for anarchists in Italy" was written on the walls.

November 4, 2005- Coinciding with the beginning of the Summit of the Americas, an explosive was set off outside of a Comafi Bank in the suburbs of Buenos Aires. The action was claimed with the following messages: "Against the state and capital, Social War," and a circle A.

November 11, 2005- A protest was held at the Uruguayan embassy in Buenos Aires in solidarity with comrades arrested at an anti-Summit of the Americas demonstration. The entrance to the embassy was covered in graffiti and stickers, and flyers were given out to passersby explaining the situation.

REVOLT AND MISREPRESENTATION

A FEW POINTS ON ANALYSIS

Analysis can be undertaken for a variety of reasons: as a critical appraisal of tactics, as an attempt to construct a plan for intervention within a specific situation, in order to learn the lessons of past failures, or simply to deepen our understanding of the functioning of this society. In this essay we hope to offer a critical look at some of the analyses of the insurrections in Algeria and Argentina, and an analysis the events following hurricane Katrina. We have used these three events in order to make a few points about analysis in general, things to avoid, as well as a few suggestions for ways of improving analysis.

Putting together a piece of analysis requires gathering as much information as possible in hopes of discerning what is "truly" transpiring. If we lack contact with those who are actually participating, we are usually left with news reports, NGO dossiers, or the analyses of a variety of political rackets. Each of these contains an implicit bias: for the media most revolts or uprisings are criminal acts of insubordination that should be crushed, and many political analyses by leftists are employed to only further their particular ideology. We are not, however, simply trying to escape bias, after all we have an agenda, which includes the destruction of this society as it now exists. What we hope to offer are a few criticisms of the way in which wishful thinking can allow for the misrepresentation of events, and how this misrepresentation does little to further our project.

New Orleans

When analyzing a situation, first and foremost, one must be honest and upfront about the amount of information being used as well as the type of information being used. When hurricane Katrina hit the New Orleans area and looting ensued, an

article from *Army Times* entitled "Troops begin combat operations in New Orleans," which was widely circulated on e-mail and on anarchist news-wires, stated that an insurgency was underway in the city. This was along with mainstream media reports, which stated that looting, carjackings, and general mayhem had spread across the entire Deep South. Some anarchists from St. Louis, in a piece called "Now is the Time? Now is the Time! The Potential of the Gulf Coast Crisis: Points for Discussion and Intervention," spoke of the beginning of some kind of Iraq along the bayou. This was in fact far from the truth.¹

We must be wary when using various sources of information because they will present things in a certain way. The mainstream media depicted looters as violent rapists and murderers, and also took part in vicious rumor mongering, spreading fear of armed black people on a rampage throughout the entire Gulf South. The *Army Times* writer, not surprisingly, presented events as a military operation, employing the most recent ideological prism, insurgents vs. American heroes. Most revolutionaries rejected mass media representations of events, but the *Army Times* article on the other hand was not subjected to a critical look because it promoted an idea that was appealing to the authors of "Now is the Time:" a possible armed uprising by the dispossessed of New Orleans. The lesson to be learned from this is that a critical appraisal of information sources is necessary across the board regardless of whom they are written by. Thus even if a situation is depicted in a way that seems favorable from our point of view, it should be scrutinized nonetheless.

Despite the faults in "Now is the Time," the writers attempted to do something that is sorely lacking within anarchist discourse in the U.S., analyzing events as they are occurring and making

proposals for action. It was not an attempt to outline an ideological position, but rather a proposal for struggle. Thus it becomes even more important to critically employ sources of information. Seeing an insurgency where there is none, based solely on one news report, is a product of wishful thinking. Therefore one task of analysis should be to take a cold hard look at the often bitter reality of situations.

Algeria

The insurrection in Algeria, which began in April 2001, is another example of faulty analysis. Publications such as *Willful Disobedience*, *Class War*, and *Communism* described the village committees, or *aarch*, as vehicles towards a self-organized society. An article from *Willful Disobedience* stated that "[t]he strength of the insurgency in this region is due largely to the fact that it has been able to revive and use old tribal methods of horizontal communication."² These horizontal methods include an 11-point honor code which prevents delegates from making statements in the name of their *aarch* or its coordinating body, from accepting a position of power (elected or appointed), or of using their position for electoral ends. Delegates are also revocable and held no decision-making powers over other members of the *aarch*. Therefore it should be clear why these structures were of interest to anarchists: they appeared to be anti-political organs of struggle.

It was later found that the *aarch* were not as horizontal as they appeared. In fact women were barred altogether from taking part in the decision-making. Even younger men had a difficult time being accepted within the *aarch*. Clearly women played a role in the insurrection, participating in mass demonstrations and road block-

ades, but this is not enough. Also young men were a strong force behind street fights with police, attacks against offices of political parties and looting. As a result many of those who took direct action and made the insurrection what it was, were excluded from the *aarch* all together.³

The insurrection was not simply the *aarch*, and to call these organizations horizontal, or coordinating bodies for the insurrection would be a mistake. The analyses that misrepresented the delegates and the *aarch* at the least suffered from a lack of information, as most news sources from Algeria are obviously written in Arabic, and to a lesser degree French and Tamazight. The articles, which mention the exclusion of women, were few and difficult to find, but this does not change the fact that it was a major oversight. Thus it is important not to jump to conclusions concerning the nature of specific insurrections.

Argentina

The insurrection in Argentina, which broke out in December of 2001, is another case in which a variety of writers simply wanted to prove the party line. The full course of events is too large to go into here, and I admit to lacking the capacity to do so, but a few points can be made nonetheless concerning the various *piquetero* groups. The *piqueteros* became heroes to leftists and anarchists across the world as unemployed people who were blockading highways across Argentina, effectively halting the flow of commodities inside and outside of cities. Some spoke of building a dual power through the coordination of *piqueteros* and neighborhood assemblies, while others spoke of horizontalism and autonomy that represented a new form of politics. Either way there was a tendency to avoid intricacies and cheer for one's ideology.

For those not familiar with the situation in Argentina, it was easy to homogenize the *piqueteros'* actions and to ignore the complexities of real events. The *piqueteros* are in fact scores of local groups of the unemployed, which predated the uprisings by nearly a decade. Each *piquetero* group is affiliated with larger coordinating bodies, each with different politics. Many were, and remain, autonomous from parties and unions, while others are appendages of leftist parties and even the Peronists. Being wedded to parties led to some *piqueteros* taking part in reformist, and one could even say counter-revolutionary, actions during the insurrection of 2001.⁴ So even using the term *piqueteros* is problematic in that it implies a homogeneity that does not exist.

To illustrate this point further, in their Spanish-language organ, *Comunismo*, the International Communist Group (ICG) claimed that the actions of the *piqueteros*, "demonstrated to the world that the proletariat was able to affirm itself as a historical subject," meaning that the actions of the *piqueteros* as a whole represented anti-political communist activity. If, however, many of these groups are in fact appendages of party organizations, then they absolutely are not anti-political, and their practice would not extend towards the abolition of capitalist social relations. While the ICG is guilty of homogenizing the activities of the *piqueteros*, this is indicative of a larger trend in radical analysis towards the homogenization of groups and activities within an ideological framework.⁵

Conclusion

To be clear, we are not questioning the intentions of any of these comrades or claiming in any way that they deliberately misrepresented events. We intend this critique in the way critique of comrades should always be made, as constructive criticism. To sum up:

1) For anarchists, analysis should never be undertaken in order to spread an ideology or to try and prove the correctness of one's ideas so as to gain adherents. Many leftist rackets use uncritical cheerleading as means of recruiting members for their organizations or in order to sell more newspapers.

2) Insurrections are not pure events, and often they have contradictory tendencies within them. Therefore it is important to highlight those ele-

ments that we find encouraging, but not to over-emphasize them. We gain nothing through misrepresentation or wishful thinking. Those aspects that we find deplorable should obviously never be hidden, nor should they be deemphasized.

3) Homogenizing events and activities, or trying to fit them within a particular political framework can lead to ignoring evidence, falsification and useless conclusions. The reality of situations can be disheartening, but seeing revolution everywhere does not change the actual content of movements and events.

4) It is impossible to know about the particularities of every situation, but intellectual laziness is also a danger. Simply finding the information that supports the story one wants to tell is the hallmark of mass media. Therefore it is important to be honest about how much information one has and recognize the obstacles that a lack of information presents.

5) We can easily sharpen analyses through a variety of means. It would greatly benefit revolutionaries to learn other languages in order to have access to a wider array of information. Of even greater importance is the necessity of establishing international contacts with whom we can share information, analysis and critique. Comrades on the ground can help give us a more nuanced understanding of insurrectionary events, rather than us painting them with a broad brush due to a lack of information.

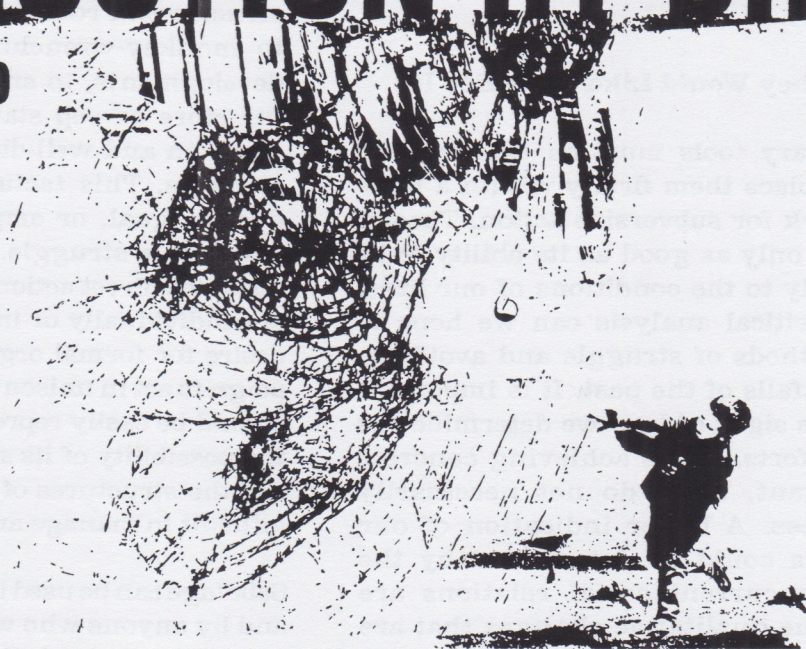
Kellen Kass

Notes

1. "Troops begin combat operations in New Orleans," *Army Times*, September 2, 2005, and "Now is the Time? Now is the Time! The Potential of the Gulf Coast Crisis," *St. Louis Indymedia*, September 3, 2005.
2. "Insurrection Continues in Algeria," *Willful Disobedience*, Spring/Summer 2004.
3. See "Les archs misogynes," *El Watan*, 7 March 2002, which is cited in the International Crisis Group's dossier on the Kabylia uprising.
4. For more background on the complexities of the *piquetero* movement, see "Picket and Pot-banger Together: Class Recomposition in Argentina?", *Aufheben* 11 (2003).
5. "Acerca de las Luchas Proletarias en Argentina," *Comunismo* #49, November 2002. We do not expect many readers to be familiar with the ICG, but we still feel it is important to address some of their writings. There are particularly interesting writings of theirs online about the worker's councils in Iraq in 1991.

FIRE AT MIDNIGHT DESTRUCTION AT DAWN

SABOTAGE AND SOCIAL WAR



The world in which we find ourselves is enveloped by capitalist social relations. Nearly everyone has been reduced to the condition of selling themselves for a wage. All space is divided and quantified into commodities that can be bought and sold. This commodification of life has made exchange the dominant feature of our relations. The implementation of these relations was achieved through a massive project of dispossession and exclusion. States manage populations and territories through a vast network of control creating a world very much resembling that of a prison. Borders are militarized, surveillance networks surround us, the police have grown in number and are better equipped. All of this has become extremely efficient due to the advance of technology.¹ This is all justified under the ever-growing system of laws, but these changes in no way contradict the nature of the state; they are true to its form and function. The state and capital are inextricably linked in a project of domination.

We are permitted the insignificance of voting for our rulers, signing petitions, and taking part in referendums. Yet the conditions of our lives stay essentially *the same*. We can hold signs on the sidewalk and shout as loud as we want, throw-

ing ourselves into the abyss of public displays of dissatisfaction. But when all is said and done we still face the humiliation and prostitution of this reality. We are only allowed to symbolize our anger at the daily degradation that must be silently endured. Obscured within a dreamland of television, commercial consumption, and social withdrawal, the world is made slightly bearable but never one in which we can determine what we want with our lives.

For a social order so dependent on a large class of exploited and marginalized people, the possibilities for revolt are many. Not only does this system require people's labor power to function, but it also requires us to produce and maintain its physical infrastructure, enforce its laws, cooperate with and consent to its plans. Ultimately *we* allow it to exist. The state needs roads, buildings, vehicles, information technology, surveillance and weaponry systems to function. Capitalism requires these same things for efficient movement of commodities and labor, and for resource extraction and exploitation. While these mechanisms have strengthened control and exploitation like never before, they have also created many weaknesses. These weaknesses are an opportunity.

For us, the question of *how* to proceed is vital. We must be willing to examine and scrutinize the methods and strategies of the past so that we do not follow in the footsteps of history's failed attempts at revolution. To this end we will focus on a method that is as powerful as it is easy to put into practice: *sabotage*.

The World As They Would Like Us to See It

All insurrectionary tools must be examined in order for us to place them firmly within a theoretical framework for subversive action. Theory, like all ideas, is only as good as its ability to be *applied* effectively to the conditions of our lives. Only through critical analysis can we hope to sharpen our methods of struggle and avoid the mistakes and pitfalls of the past. It is important for us not to lose sight of how we determine the results of our efforts. While achieving concrete goals is important, these do not necessarily determine success. A better indication of our accomplishments could be determined by the extent to which current social relations are subverted and the qualitative changes that are realized through revolt.

Situations of revolt are not always easy to discover. The writers of history marginalize and deliberately disconnect news of resistance from a tradition of refusal. Discontent is misrepresented, pacified and moved into channels of legality, compromise, and dialogue. The media distorts the impulse for social war, deferring it to the confines of single issues, mismanagement, and individual cases of dissatisfaction. Revolt becomes a disfigured story, obscured in the past, manipulated in the present, hidden from view.

Our actions should not appeal to these machines of "reality production." The only thing that will affect the reality of things will be to *act* upon reality, not to merely *present* it as we wish it to be. The only way to change the conditions of society is to change the nature of how we relate within them. There is no fixed or static condition that we are trapped in. The future is not only unwritten but also unpredictable and therefore capable of being affected by our willful determination.

The Tools That Can Destroy the Master's House

Revolt can begin on an individual level or through the process of larger social upheaval. One of the oldest and most destructive acts of revolt is sabotage. To be clear, we define sabotage as the deliberate act of destroying or damaging physical structures. From workplace machinery sabotage to monkey-wrenching housing and industrial developments, to smashing a window at a bank, fur store or cop station, sabotage has become a common and well-dispersed instrument of social struggle. This tactic is often used to achieve a greater goal, or employed within a larger campaign or a struggle. However, the potential of destructive direct action lies in its ability to be carried out individually or in groups without any need or desire for formal organization, hierarchy, or campaign to act in unison with. Sabotage, like all tactics, should be easily reproducible, therefore increasing the possibility of its spread. This spreading threatens the structures of power *precisely* because it is difficult to manage and contain.

Sabotage can be used in all situations, in all terrains, and by anyone who wishes to use it. It requires no specialization or skill, just initiative. While news of sabotage is difficult to find, obscured and negated as it is by those in power, there are some notable examples that we would like to examine. This list is by no means comprehensive but rather a sampling of relevant examples to social struggle.

A Global Attack:

Shell and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle

If you understand how the structures of capitalists are built up and how the big companies are weaving their nets closer and closer around the world, then you realize that the fight against the system has to be carried out globally. -Brand magazine

In Europe during the late 1980s, a wave of sabotage hit the Shell Oil Company because of their economic involvement with the then South African government and their policy of apartheid. Many acts of sabotage occurred in Denmark, Holland, and Sweden during the years 1986-1988. Shell stations were attacked with firebombs and paint in addition to the cutting of gasoline hoses and damage to gas tanks and cash machines. These actions were claimed by anonymous groups of people acting in solidarity with the social struggle in South Africa.

While at the time an international boycott of Shell was in affect across the world, it is interesting to note that in 1986 a spokesman for Danish Shell admitted that the boycott had not affected them much economically but that sabotage was costing them vastly larger amounts of money.²

It was clear that a global attack was taking place against one focal point of capitalist exploitation. These attacks were easy to undertake, requiring only simple tools and a will to act. This fact facilitated their spread across a wide area and far from the center of the anti-apartheid struggle. The acts of sabotage drew a clear parallel between the business done in *one* place and its direct connection to the administrative and operative functions of the project of capital in *another*.

The Bolt Weevils Attack! Power and its Opponents in Minnesota

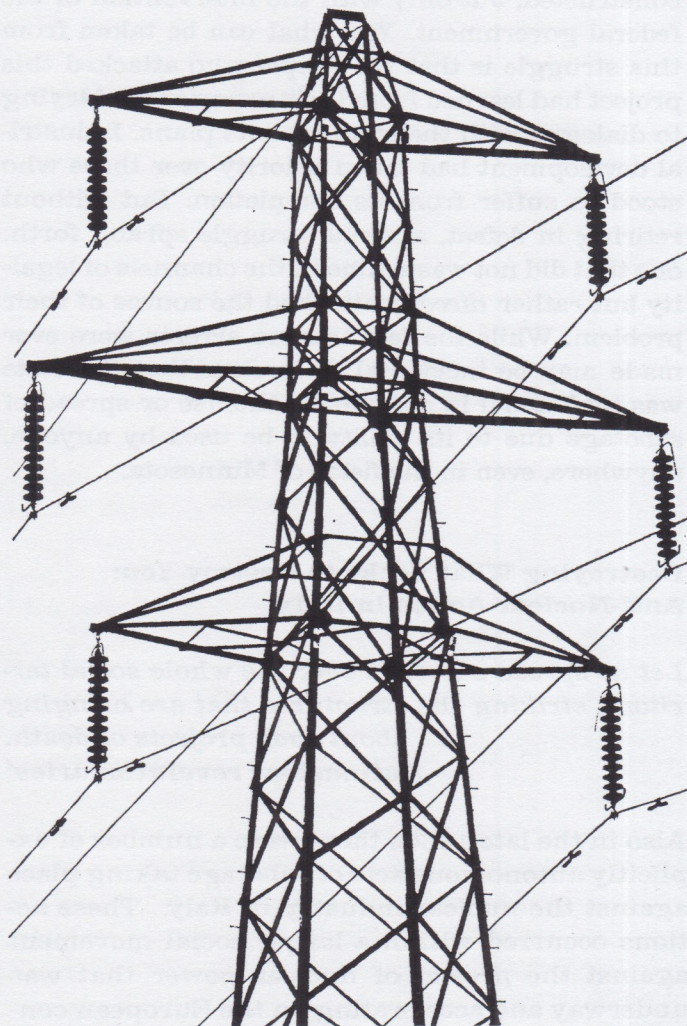
A very interesting example of dispersed sabotage occurred in western Minnesota in the late 1970s. During this time the electric industry was seeking to exploit coal reserves in the West to feed the energy demands of urban centers. On of these projects consisted of building a coal strip mine and generating plant in North Dakota, then constructing a 435 mile power line to transport the energy produced to the suburban areas around Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota.

What the energy industry and the state's regulatory agencies did not expect was the opposition that followed. Farmers along the proposed route of the power line viewed the project as sacrificing their land to feed energy-hungry urban centers. The state was planning to expropriate 160-foot-wide swaths through their fields and erect 180-foot pylons to support the wires. These concerns were augmented by the fear of health problems associated with electromagnetic pollution from the currents running through these power lines. It was clear the state had no regard for these concerns when throughout the years of 1974 to 1977 farmers in Minnesota tried lengthy and ultimately ineffectual legal channels to block the construction of the line. The result, not surprisingly, was that they were merely permitted to request that the construction happen on someone else's land.

Yet the failed dialogue with the state did enable networks to be made among those who were af-

fected by the plans. In 1977, after the state had finalized and approved these plans, surveyors and construction crews attempted to start work on the power line, but hundreds of farmers blocked their way. In the winter of 1978, confrontations in the fields spanned weeks, prompting the Governor to send almost half of Minnesota's highway patrol officers to protect the electric company crews.

Even more impressive was the wave of sabotage that hit the infrastructure of the project. In the space of two years, fourteen towers were toppled



and nearly 10,000 insulators shot out. The actions were being attributed to the "Bolt Weevils," a name used by the anonymous individuals carrying out the attacks. Electric industry officials termed it "vandalism;" the farmers called it "sabotage," a tactic that received a great deal of support from local communities.

During these years no arrests were made despite the electrical company employing private security. The police used helicopters to patrol rural areas but were unable to stop the spread of sabotage. By the summer of 1980, the energy company was forced to turn over ownership of the power line to the U.S. government in order to avoid further economic losses directly attributed to sabotage and the costs of security. While this maneuver gave jurisdiction to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it did not deter all attacks from continuing. A fifteenth tower came down on New Year's Eve of the same year.³

Despite all of their attempts, the line was finally constructed, but only with the intervention of the federal government. Yet, what can be taken from this struggle is that the people who attacked this project had learned from their experience of trying to dialogue with the state over its plans. Industrial development had taken priority over those who stood to suffer from its completion. But without retiring in defeat, a social struggle sprang forth, one that did not waste time in the channels of legality but rather *directly* attacked the source of their problem. While the fact that no arrests were ever made may be incidental, it is clear that the state was ineffectual in containing the use or spread of sabotage due to its ability to be used by anyone, anywhere, even in the fields of Minnesota.

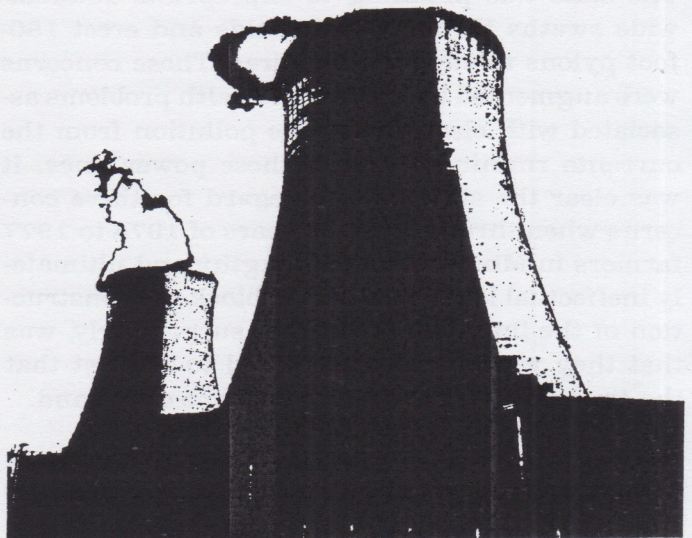
Destroying What Seeks to Destroy You: Anti-Nuclear Action in Italy

*Let us spread sabotage over the whole social territory, striking the structures that are bringing about such projects of death.
-Antinuclear revolutionaries⁴*

Also in the late 1980s there were a number of explicitly autonomous acts of sabotage taking place against the nuclear industry in Italy. These actions occurred within a larger social movement against the project of nuclear power that was underway and accelerating on the European con-

tinent. The nature of these actions rejected the reformist strategies and tactics of the peace, environmental and religious movements who opposed nuclear power as an issue of protest. Unlike these groups, a critique of nuclear power and its relation to centralized political and economic power, as well as environmental destruction, was made clear and visible in actions that did not seek to merely *replace* one type of destructive process for another. Rather these autonomous actions were undertaken with the clear understanding that nuclear power is part of the larger project of capitalist domination.

In October of 1986 machinery used to construct a nuclear plant in Trino Vercellese was destroyed by demonstrators. In addition to this, acts of sabotage were occurring in various parts of the country. High-tension pylons, the metal frames that support power lines, were sawn and downed in the Cosenza province in July 1987. Then in September a pylon in the area of Pec del Brasimone was downed as well. This one had supported power lines that supplied electricity to a nuclear reactor. Then in December of 1987 a nuclear power station was blockaded in Montalto di Castro and a



research center had its gates locked shut. A leaflet was found at the site stating, "sabotage the research centres, universities, death production." Anarchists and autonomists organized anti-nuclear meetings and demonstrations in Rome, Venice, Milan and Bologna, among other cities.

Another high-tension power line was downed in Sicily that same year. A communiqué claiming responsibility for this action had this to say: "...the final course in this mad race towards perpetual enrichment and global domination, shamelessly passed off as progress, civil society, etc., is the total destruction of our planet which is now taking place. To speak, write, dance, sing, march is not enough to stop this madness and free ourselves from its ferocious oppression...We maintain: we can and we must take our fate into our own hands and organize ourselves. Sabotage. Attack. Insurge."

Attacks against power lines continued throughout the year. Many of the attacks were not only directed towards nuclear energy projects but also against energy supplied to factories. By the end of the 1980s an estimated 400 attacks against the infrastructure of the electrical system had occurred throughout Italy. These made clear the connection between nuclear energy and energy produced through other means such as coal, which also creates its own set of toxins and destructive extraction processes.

At the time it was unclear how much damage was done by some of these actions. In some cases the pylons were sawn but did not fall. Yet anarchists were clear to point out the importance not only of some certifiable amount of financial damages but additionally the *uncontrollability* of this method of autonomous action. The now-defunct Italian anarchist magazine *Provocazione* explained this point clearly: "The method of direct attack against small objectives spread over the social territory is far more effective than the great spectacular actions and demonstrations that are as spectacular as they are innocuous. The state knows very well how to manage and exploit these grand actions...What it does not know...is how to control and prevent simple direct attacks against the distribution...of structures that are responsible for projects of repression and death."

Every Worker, A Monkeywrench: The Destruction of the Machines of Production

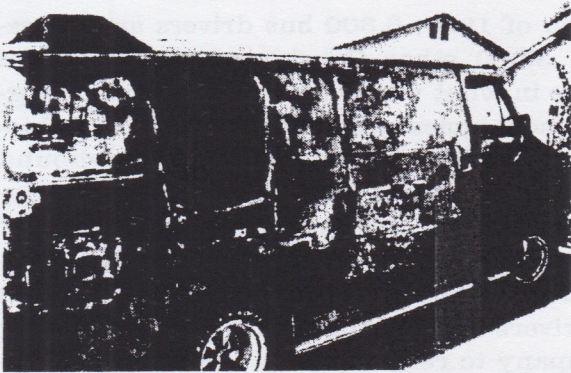
Sabotage has a long history of use in the workplace. Workplace sabotage still certainly exists today though the actual frequency of these acts is suppressed to avoid encouragement on a wider scale. Still, it has had many applications within workers' struggle when the realization of union-capitalist collaboration and the ineffectuality of official strikes have been made. Its ease of use has made it a popular form of response to the degradation of bosses, unions, wages, and routines.

In March of 1990, 6,300 bus drivers and an estimated 3,000 other Greyhound workers went on strike in what would become the second largest and most violent strike in the company's history. The dispute took place between Greyhound Lines Inc., the largest North American privately-run bus line, and the Amalgamated Council of Greyhound Local Unions, over wages, job security and grievance procedures. Fewer than 100 of its drivers crossed the picket lines, requiring the company to rely on scabs. Violence and sabotage erupted *immediately* despite negotiations between union representatives and Greyhound officials. Throughout the course of the strike over a hundred bomb threats were called into bus terminals, causing large disruptions. Dozens of shooting attacks were made against buses and their terminals. One striking driver was killed by a scab driver and one replacement was seriously injured. In April, 60 workers were fired by the company for sabotage and violence. This came a day after a bus terminal in Boston was set on fire. Unfortunately after three years of conflict, the strike was lost. This however does not invalidate the struggle that took place, and it still serves as an important example of the use of sabotage within a large-scale labor struggle.⁵

Towards the end of the 1990s another violent workplace conflict was underway. In July of 1999, the largely immigrant Latino workforce at Basic Vegetable Products in King City, California went on a Teamster-led strike. The strike was in response to the company imposing a wage freeze, a two-tier wage system, changes in pension plans and the slashing of health benefits. Almost immediately the strike was followed by a rash of small-scale sabotage, harassment, threats and even fire bombings that spread *beyond* the ability of the local police to contain. In early August, a

supervisor's house was firebombed, leading to the arrest of one worker who was later sentenced to three years. Later in the month a scab's car was set on fire, nearly engulfing her home in flames. Acts of sabotage also included tampering with the vehicles of replacement workers in order to cause malfunctions. By year's end some 270 acts of sabotage had been officially reported, against such targets as company buses, scab vehicles, scab homes, and the company's factory.

In October the company held a press conference



One scab had their van set on fire during the Basic Vegetable strike

requesting strike intervention by the governor and the state attorney general. At the press conference a spokesman for the company displayed photographs of smashed windows, slashed car tires and homemade spike strips used against scab workers. King City Police Chief Richard Metcalf conceded there had been "a huge increase in reported vandalism... This is not uncommon during labor disputes, in my experience." Two months later, the police chief told a newspaper, "[y]ou can double the amount of officers on the street and it would still be pretty hard to catch them." Efforts to stem the force of the workers' struggle were to no avail, and they won after two-years of striking and sabotage. While we are quite conscious of the limits of workplace victories, and *ultimately* seek the destruction of work itself, it is important to see that autonomous direct action can develop outside of the control of unions and extend beyond the confines of the workplace.⁶

More recently, in the summer of 2005, negotiations broke down between the Canadian telecommunication giant, Telus, and the Telecommunication Workers Union (TWU). The dispute affected the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia,

but the most radical activity was centered in B.C. Within days of the strike being called, multiple acts of sabotage occurred and a representative for the company stated in an August 2005 interview that the company had suffered 42 attacks in the three previous months. In many cases phone lines were either damaged or pulled down and fiber-optic cables were repeatedly cut, shutting down phone and internet service to thousands. These acts were a compliment to flying pickets and clashes with scabs. It is also interesting to note that anarchists in Vancouver were involved in solidarity pickets, attempting to halt public transportation from city bus depots in hopes of disrupting the economic functioning of the city.⁷

These examples are but a small sampling of the use of workplace sabotage. Yet they point to the widespread use of direct action outside of legal channels. Their effects cannot be understated. Capitalists would prefer dialogue and compromise but autonomous action makes these forms of cooptation ineffectual.

Revolutionary Solidarity

We think of solidarity as a way of being accomplices, of taking reciprocal pleasure and in no way consider it a duty, a sacrifice for the "good and sacred cause," because it is our own cause, i.e. ourselves. Revolutionary solidarity...should be demonstrated incessantly, precisely because it contributes to widening what we are already doing. -Pierleone Porcu

With the constant changes and maneuvers of the capitalist system also arise the dispersion of social struggle worldwide. The same system that has forced us to sell ourselves to survive also bars those who are deemed unnecessary from looking for an exit from the warfare of states and the starvation of the capitalist periphery.

We all want the same thing: to decide for ourselves how we will *live*. Autonomous struggle for this very thing has presented itself wherever people refuse to succumb to the inertness of passivity. This is the struggle we share.

But how can we make the similarities between our struggles spread? By recognizing our struggle in the struggle of others and *acting* upon it through revolutionary solidarity. The same companies that

are exploiting the rainforests of West Papua or the Pampas of Chile have their homes in the dominant capitalist countries of the North. The wars fought in Iraq and Afghanistan are fought with the weapons and personnel of the U.S., Europe and collaborating nation-states. The prisons and detention centers that lock away those who refuse the system of exclusion and exploitation are the same that function safely in our backyards. There are some notable examples of this practice of solidarity that deserve a closer look.

They Cannot Take What Is Not Given: Oka and the Spreading of Defiance

If there is an attack against the Mohawks, it would be considered an attack on all of us... There's hydro-electric lines crossing most of our communities... There are major highway arteries... major water supplies... -Peguis chief Louis Stevenson⁸

In March of 1990 in Oka, Canada, Kanehsatake Mohawks began a blockade of a road leading to a pine forest scheduled for clear-cutting. This piece of land, considered to be Mohawk land by treaty, was planned for use as an expansion of a bordering golf course. Four months later, in July, over 100 of Quebec's provincial police attacked the blockade with tear gas, concussion grenades and thousands of rounds of live ammunition. An officer was killed during the confrontation. The attack was considered a failure when the police were forced to retreat as tear gas blew back at them with the wind, causing them to leave several vehicles behind. These were later smashed up and used to reinforce the blockade. Then the area was sealed off with hundreds of policemen.

Still, news of the raid at Oka reached the Kahnawake, a Mohawk tribe located south of Montreal, who then proceeded to block the Mercier Bridge that served as a main artery from Montreal to the south shore. Armed Mohawks threatened to blow up the bridge if a second attack occurred, and they also blocked two other highways that ran through their territory. The occupation of the bridge continued throughout the summer and received demonstrations of solidarity in Montreal.

After careful planning by the Canadian government, a massive military operation was deployed against the Kanehsatake and Kahnawake blockades in August. It involved the use of 4,400 sol-

diers, mortars, several hundred armored personnel carriers, armored cars, missile launchers, helicopters, and three tanks. Over the course of the month there was a tense standoff between Mohawks and the repressive forces of the government.

The repression set into motion a wave of solidarity actions cross Canada. Demonstrations of support occurred on Native lands and in every major city. Occupations took place in government offices. Sabotage was made at various points of the capitalist infrastructure. On August 18, a Ca-



*"Freedom for the Prisoners
End the Persecution in Barcelona"
-Buenos Aires, Argentina (Feb. '06)*

nadian National (CN) rail-bridge was set on fire. Then on September 4, five hydroelectric towers were toppled and a CN railway-bridge was destroyed by fire, near London, Ontario. The vulnerability of these structures was made readily apparent through these actions. The repression of the Mohawk blockades had brought costly acts of solidarity among many people in many places removed from the focal point of struggle.

Though the discernable point of contention was the expansion of one development, the police operation was targeting a much greater threat. Mohawk communities are known by the Canadian government for their defiant autonomy and self-management. Their struggle spread outward as others recognized themselves in it. Acts of sabotage provided a damaging and essential tactic in this larger struggle of solidarity, proving to the state that its actions would not go unchallenged.

Setting Fire to Surrender: Anarchist Solidarity in Europe

Long enough has the charity of those who have everything to lose destroyed our dignity and militancy. Our struggle without compromise for freedom is taking place - not only here, but in the whole of Europe and the whole world.

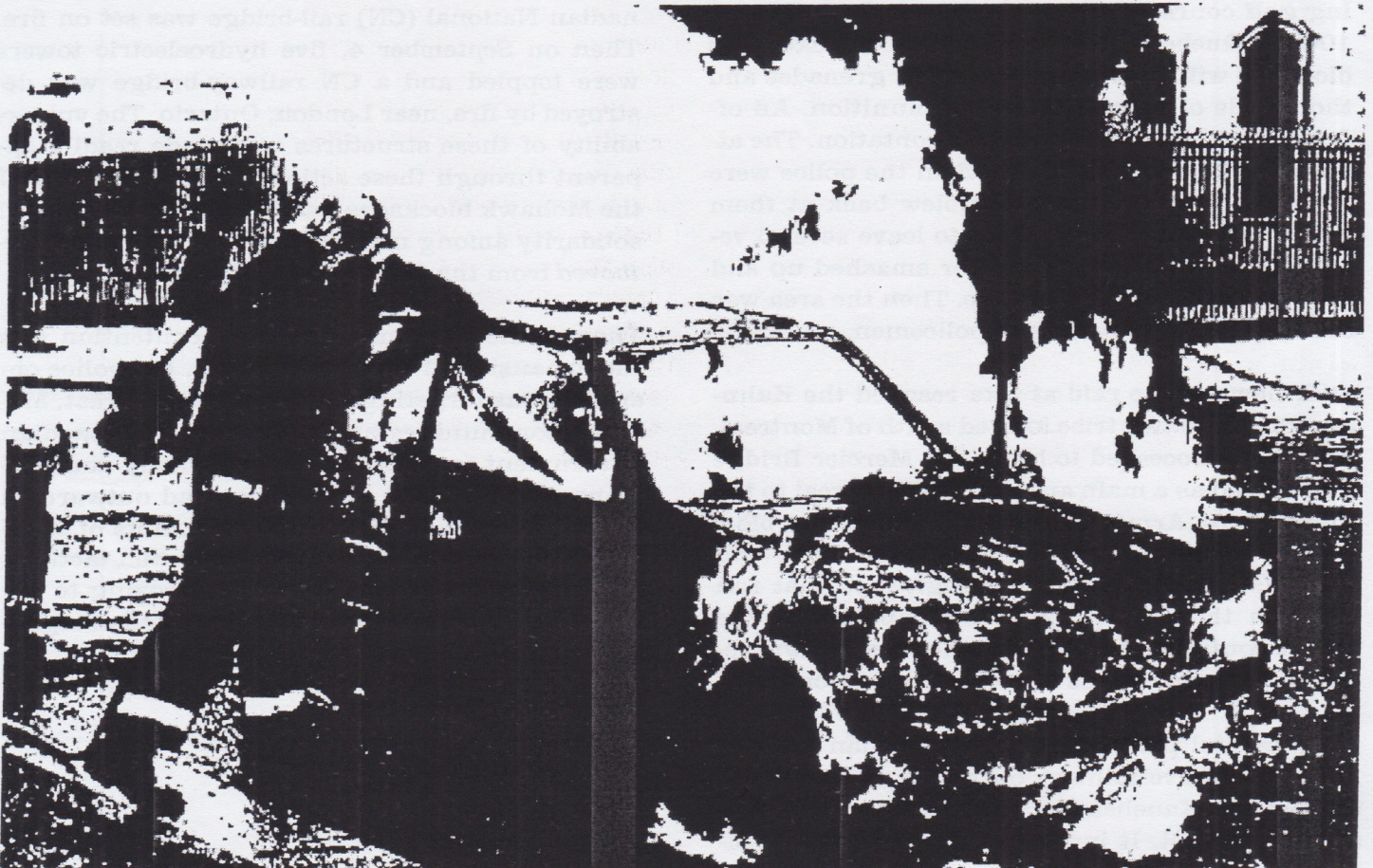
**NO BORDERS, NO NATIONS;
STOP DEPORTATIONS
LOVE AND STRENGTH FOR ALL PERSECUTED
PEOPLE, FUGITIVES AND REBELS
-from a leaflet distributed in Belgium⁹**

Acts of sabotage as revolutionary solidarity have had extensive usage over the course of the past few years in Europe. Following police raids carried out across Italy in May 2005 dozens of anarchists were imprisoned and accused of "subversive association."¹⁰ Anarchists in Barcelona, Spain, demonstrated in solidarity with their Italian comrades in June. They were attacked by riot police who then made seven arrests. As a response, 60 anarchists in Greece occupied a Spanish cultural institute in Athens. Just the day before 80 anarchists held a demonstration at the

Spanish embassy in solidarity with the prisoners in Spain and Italy. Yet acts of solidarity, went *beyond* these defiant demonstrations.

On December 16, of that same year, 15 cars were burned at three FIAT (Italian car company) dealerships in Athens and two bombs went off outside bank offices in the northern city of Salonika. On December 31, an explosive device blew up in the sales lot of a FIAT car dealership in Grenada, Spain. The attack was undertaken in solidarity with Italian comrades being prosecuted in the "Operation Cervantes" case.¹¹ The communique for the action also claimed solidarity with anarchist prisoners in Spain, Greece and Germany.

Then on January 3, 2006, three makeshift bombs went off in Athens. The first bomb had been placed under a car that had diplomatic plates. Another bomb detonated at the entrance of the ruling party's, New Democracy, offices. In the meantime, fire was set to the car of the mayor of Therissos, and also to his wife. The attacks were claimed by the group "Antikratiki Dikeosini" (Anti-State Justice) and made in support of anarchists held in prison. The actions of solidarity continue in Europe as



more and more anarchists are facing an increase in state repression. Solidarity of this type circulates struggles and finds meaning in common enemies. There are those of us who are confined to the logic of survival but who hate our slavery and wish to attack it. It is from the understanding of the relationship between our own struggle *and* the struggle of others that related struggles can emerge. The embrace of attack is the refusal of surrender.

To Strike Without Waiting

While the majority of the examples above are tied to larger situations of struggle, this does not mean that single actions outside of collective struggle are worthless. On the contrary, these isolated actions demonstrate not only a willingness to act, but also a willingness to attack capitalist projects *regardless* of popular support or of the presence of a larger struggle. Thus we must make a point to separate ourselves from those who counsel waiting or who claim that actions are only valid within "mass struggle."

In many cases mass struggles do not exist against capitalist projects. This lack however does not preclude action being taken by individuals or small groups. We are not slaves to a quantitative logic. If we waited for permission to act, we would be resigning ourselves to waiting *forever*. Fortunately however, many individuals, those with consciously revolutionary ideas and those without, reject the assertion that actions must be justified by their inclusion in something larger. One need only open the newspaper to read reports of dispersed acts of sabotage against a wide variety of targets: suburban sprawl, luxury condominiums, banks, chain stores, fur stores, fast food restaurants, etc. Acts of hatred against the projects of domination and exploitation deserve no respite. Their execution needs no delay.

Likewise, we must differentiate ourselves from those who support vanguardism and specialization in struggle. All too often radicals fall into the fetishization of armed struggle and the uncritical support of armed groups such as the Weather Underground, Red Army Faction, Black Liberation Army, Red Brigades and many others. This strategy is problematic from an anarchist perspective.

Fear at the Point of Departure: Some Points of Critique

Sabotage is generally carried out with a certain amount of security precautions. It is often done individually or in small groups of people who share affinity or friendship and who are trusted not to discuss the action outside of the group or to confess if caught. Care is taken not to leave any evidence behind and to keep the planning of the action secret. However beyond these practical concerns some see the need for going underground and creating a specialized role for themselves.

The concept of underground living, maintaining no public ties to radical groups, changing one's identity, blending in as "normal" and living in hiding is antithetical to an *expansive* life of relations decided on one's own terms. To live life in the underground is to sacrifice potential relationships and projects under the pretext of avoiding suspicion or discovery by the state's agents. On the other hand some argue that radical direct action is best carried out if one has no ties to any of the networks from which the state can fish for suspects. However, an ability to form relations is hindered by avoiding those relations that are deemed "unsafe." Thus, it cuts individuals off from potential comrades and leaves them only with members of their organization, imposing unhealthy social isolation. All of this poses the very real problem of a lack of networks of support needed in case of arrest.

Another problematic tendency includes vanguardism. A critique of vanguardism is inherent within anarchist ideas. False is the idea that some group of people are more skilled or adept at leading the rest of us towards something better or creating a revolutionary situation by themselves. A revolution can only happen with widespread participation, individually and collectively, towards a transformation of social relations. Delegation to anyone else will only lead to their ends, not our own. Revolt *must* be socially autonomous and self-organized for the process and result to manifest individual and collective desire.

Lastly, specialization and the spectacularization of struggle deserve their own critique. Much like vanguardism, specialization imposes specific roles on people. Participation in certain activities is elevated above and away from generalized use. In this way it is confined to particular individuals or groups.

This exclusion is contrary to the spreading of a social rebellion. On the other hand, the spectacular nature of the actions of many armed groups can also be detrimental to the widening of social struggle. Actions that are deliberately spectacular generally aim for high-profile news coverage and attacks on purely symbolic targets with a tendency to emphasize technically complex methods.

Sabotage as Social War

Sabotage is but *one* tactic from an array of tools employed within the social war. Its use alone cannot substitute for the destruction of the very relations that define our capitalist system.

The destruction of the infrastructure of the state and the functioning of capitalism can be crippling. But it can only cripple as much as it can spread through its ease of use. A rupture with the present will be as inclusive of sabotage as it will be of creating relations beyond the narrow and numbing confines of the social order.

Sabotage will take many forms but it must always be done so with the intent of expanding our revolt globally. Solidarity with the struggles of others will then become little more than an after thought. Through the process of experimentation in strategy and the initiative of attack, the sharpening of our struggle will become realized, always moving forward and outward. Revolution will not be the certainty of a future world but the certainty of ourselves attacking the world that has been imposed upon us.

Sabotage must go *beyond* the limits of mere economic attrition. Militaristic formations, along with their style of centralized formal structure are of no use to us. Organizations for armed struggle and clandestine vanguards will not bring us closer to generalized insurrection, as examples of the past have shown. Guerrilla wars of attrition will only be a losing fight against states much better equipped technologically and numerically within the logic of standard warfare. Our warfare must be *social*.

Social war will put arms in the hands of generalized rebellion. Sabotage will be made at the points of departure towards that place.

Kasimere Bran

Notes

1. Technology is not neutral. It's a goddamn motherfucker.
2. "Sabotage Against Shell," *Insurrection* #5, Autumn 1988.
3. "The Rural Energy War—Report from The Front Lines." *The Nation*. December 26, 1981.
4. "Anti-Nuclear Sabotage in Italy," *Insurrection* # 4, May 1988.
5. "Business Brief -- GLI Holding Co.: Sixty Fired by Greyhound for Strike-Related Violence." *Wall Street Journal*. April 6, 1990.
6. "From Vandalism to Firebombing at Basic Vegetable." *Union Violence Lookout*. Vol.I, Issue 10. November 1999.
7. "Cut Phone Lines 'Obvious Vandalism,' Telus Says." *Vancouver Sun*. August 16, 2005.
8. "Oka, 1990." *Only a Beginning, An Anarchist Anthology*. Ed. Alan Antliff.
9. From a leaflet made in solidarity with prisoners in Lecce, Italy.
10. Arrests were made throughout Italy beginning in Lecce on May 12, in Sardinia on May 19, and in Bologna and Rome on May 26.
11. For more info see "State Repression Against Anarchists in Italy." *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* #60. Fall/Winter 2005/2006.

REPRESSION UPDATE

SHAC 7 Found Guilty

On March 2, 2006 a jury found Jacob Conroy, Darius Fullmer, Lauren Gazzola, Joshua Harper, Kevin Kjonas and Andrew Stepanian guilty of animal enterprise terrorism, stalking and other charges. The SHAC 7 are alleged to have operated a web site that reported on and expressed support for protest activity against Huntingdon Life Sciences and its business affiliates by Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC). Their sentencing hearing is on June 6. For more information see: www.shac7.com

Rod Coronado Arrested

Rod Coronado was arrested on February 22, 2006 for a speech he gave in San Diego in 2003. The government alleges that during his speech he "demonstrated the use of a destructive device" intended to be used for arson. He was granted bail on March 3, and is awaiting his trial. See: www.supportrod.org

INSURRECTIONARY ANARCHIST PROJECTS AND SOCIAL CONFLICT IN VANCOUVER

Since May Day of 2002, when a small group of anarchists and street kids broke away from an anti-poverty protest and vandalized stores and stalls inside a downtown shopping mall, insurrectionary anarchists in Vancouver have been intervening in various social struggles and developing projects based on a perspective of irreconcilable conflict with the dominant order. Through the rejection of political methods, such as protests, press conferences, and reformist demands presented to the powerful, local anarchist comrades have upheld self-organization, direct action, and permanent conflict with the exploiters as the only viable and desirable principles on which to base anarchist intervention in the class war and its contribution towards social revolution.

The lessons and experience of the riots against free trade in Seattle and Quebec City, indigenous peoples' land struggles in various parts of Canada, the analysis of insurrectionary anarchists in Italy based on their involvement in various struggles, the Vancouver anarchist movement of the 1980s (including the armed "Direct Action" group), and the reoccurring mini-riots at public events in Vancouver, have all been influential on anarchists in this city.

Local comrades have been galvanized by the heightened level of social conflict in this province, British Columbia (within which Vancouver is located), since the Liberal government was elected in 2001. The quick and aggressive economic and political restructuring of the Liberals, involving major cuts to welfare and social services, mass lay-offs of government employees, the tearing-up of union contracts, and a racist referendum on "treaties" between Native and non-Native politicians, provoked mass discontent among the exploited. Unions and political activist groups have worked hard to manage social struggles into a posi-

tion of defeat and demoralization for the exploited, ending in reconciliation with the power structure. Insurrectionary anarchists have tried to counter the manipulations of these groups by directly communicating with exploited and excluded people.

In the fall of 2002, the opening of the Woodward's Squat, a massive, long-empty department store in the ghetto of the Downtown Eastside, created a space for older anarchists experienced in conflicts outside of Vancouver to meet young squatters interested in anarchist methods and the hundred or so people from the neighborhood who came to live in the building. The anarchists verbally clashed with activists and politicians, some of whom wanted the squatters to leave the building voluntarily after a week. The occupation was intended to be a media spectacle by the activist city-employee who initiated it. At first, police entered the building freely, negotiating with the self-appointed leader of the squat. Later, amidst quarrels between activists, the police realized there were anarchists living in the building and from then on kept their distance, while preparing for a forceful eviction.

Although many squatters simply ignored the activists, the ideology of civil disobedience and the reformist demand for social housing took a significant hold over the situation. Most squatters considered the building to be their home and much preferred its collective space to the isolation of the single-room occupancy welfare hotels that people in the neighborhood have to live in. For Woodward's to be converted into social housing would require the ending of the squat. Despite this, the majority of the squatters, under the direction of the activists, sat in a circle to be mass arrested when the riot cops invaded.



activist banner drop at the Woodsquat

After the initial eviction by riot cops, squatters returned and set-up camp again around the outside of the building. Police attacked and evicted the tent city, but it sprung up once more. Finally, the city government had to use social workers to end the tent city and move people into a miserable welfare hotel. These events further clarified the role of the police and the state for many of those involved in the struggle.

In hindsight, it can be seen that the conflict could have developed in an insurrectional direction if anarchists had communicated more effectively with fellow squatters and built an informal organization to defend the squat through attacking capital and politics in their immediate manifestations, while pointing out the irreconcilable class interests between exploiter and exploited, included and excluded.

The evicted squatters' anger against the police quickly came to head at an East Vancouver school when police arrested an elderly man at a protest against a public appearance by the Premier of the province. Masked anarchists dragged a dumpster in front of a police truck carrying the detained man, leading to another arrest. From there, scuf-

fles with the cops developed somewhat beyond the designs of the activists who engaged in civil disobedience by sitting in front of the truck, as children coming out of school began to taunt the cops and throw drink containers and pebbles at them. After the police left the area, kids threw eggs at the nearby police station.

In January of 2003, an Iranian refugee broke free from the grasp of a security guard and escaped deportation at the Vancouver airport during a protest by her family and supporters. The same anti-authoritarian comrade taken into custody during the school incident was arrested once again. Sometime later, the woman seeking refuge from imprisonment and death in Iran mysteriously turned herself over to the police and was deported without first contacting her family, taking sanctuary in a church, or going "underground," possibly due to manipulation by activists.

Throughout the rest of 2003, masked-up anarchists intervened at numerous protests against the provincial government and the war on Iraq with graffiti, newspaper boxes dragged into the streets, a break-away march, and a smashed window at the building housing the US consulate. During this time period, several independent window-breaking attacks were carried out against banks and a Canadian army recruiting center. Different groups claimed responsibility for these actions, using anti-government and anti-capitalist explanations for their actions.

In 2004, one East Vancouver community police office had its windows smashed in an action that was claimed in solidarity with people beaten down or killed by the cops. Another community police office in a park suffered repeated and unclaimed acts of graffiti, paint-bombing, window-breaking, and arson.

In the summer of 2004, a hospital workers' strike was declared illegal by the government, provoking solidarity wildcat strikes in many industries across the province. Local anarchists walked the picket lines, talked with workers, and made banners calling for a general wildcat strike and describing solidarity as a "weapon." Also that summer, anarchists also held a number of public events entitled "Wild in the Streets," which included anarchist movie nights, a picnic and information exchange in a park, and a march against the police which resulted in a scuffle and three arrests.

That winter, comrades held a two day public event called "Breach of the Peace," during which food was shared and a Mohawk comrade from the reserve of Kanehsatake in eastern Canada showed a video and spoke on the traditional people's ousting of Native cops from their community. For the finale of the event, a movie was shown detailing the case of John Graham, a local indigenous Tutchone man who was part of the Vancouver Red Power movement and the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the 1970s. He is living under house arrest while he fights extradition to the United States on fraudulent charges of murdering fellow AIM member Anna Mae Pictou Aquash (who died as a result of an FBI counter-insurgency program, involving many assassinations on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota).

Much time that winter was taken up by anarchists maintaining a presence in court to show solidarity with John Graham, as well as the comrade charged in relation to the refugee's escape at the airport. Despite a lack of any substantial evidence, a jury convicted the comrade of aiding the refugee's escape, and the judge declared a sentence of three months in jail, referencing the totalitarian theorist Thomas Hobbes in explicitly describing the matter as a conflict between civilization and anarchy in her reasons for sentencing, just as the crown prosecutor did in her arguments to the judge.


On March 15, 2005, Vancouver anarchists organized a march for the International Day Against Police Brutality (the day was founded by anarchists in Switzerland). Local comrades didn't limit themselves to the question of police brutality, instead calling into question police control in general. A newsletter called "Against Police Control" was published, detailing police murders of persons in Vancouver and the involvement of Canadian cops in the military occupations of Iraq and Haiti. The callout for the march explained that the march wouldn't be a protest, but rather would create a space for exploited and excluded people to put their anger against the cops into practice. During the march itself, this anger took the form of eggs, paint-bombs and fireworks tossed at police cars and the Main Street police station in the Downtown Eastside. Police cars were also smashed with sticks and a media van was egged. At least two people were arrested. This march was especially significant because many ordinary people never seen at protests showed

up and took part, while the activists stayed away, knowing they had nothing to gain from an event they could not control.

In the summer and fall of 2005, insurrectionary anarchists talked with striking truckers, telecommunications workers, teachers, and school support workers in Vancouver, also distributing leaflets calling for the extension of the direct action and sabotage that some workers were already implementing, while trying to further illuminate the repressive function of the unions and political parties who managed the strikes into compromise, disempowerment, and defeat for the workers. An attempt was made by anarchists to cross-picket and shut down bus depots in solidarity with the striking telecommunications workers and teachers, mimicking the actions of telecom strikers in several locations in this province. Many strikers expressed rebellious sentiments and criticisms of their unions to our comrades, indicating some possibilities for further coordinated efforts between anarchists and the rest of the exploited.

Local insurrectionary anarchists have been strengthening lines of communication with anarchist comrades in other parts of the province, and also initiating and maintaining contact with refugees and indigenous people who are resisting, in one form or another (hunger strikes, land reoccupations, etc.), the conditions imposed upon them by capital. Through this, comrades are slowly building the basis for projects of solidarity rooted in affinity rather than politics.

Sam
December 2005



AN EXAMPLE OF STRUGGLE AGAINST DEPORTATION CENTERS FOR IMMIGRANTS

Presentation

We are a group of anarchists from the south of Italy, and after many other activities, we occupied ourselves with the detention and deportation of immigrants.

A Few Beginning Points

We cannot tolerate that an individual can be incarcerated because they lack a piece of paper, or because they don't accept being a slave. We think this is repugnant.

We think that this situation is the product of an infamy with concrete and specific responsibilities. Because of this we cannot close our eyes.

We think that we live in a time of war. And if in some places this fact is explained by bombs and armies in the streets, in others it is explained by the terror of doing without enough to survive, without something to eat, or of ending up in jail; it explains the fact of having to leave your own land to look for better living conditions and to be exploited there. Therefore we can see the war everywhere, along with a feeling of uprootedness, which envelops the world.

We believe that a society incapable of recognizing and attacking the causes of such a situation can only create false enemies and generalize fear. Many times the immigrant is seen as an enemy. The immigrant is described by propaganda as a terrorist or friend of the terrorists. The same happens with communists, anarchists, or workers that strike without permission.

The important thing is that State terrorism is able to continue, while those that are bothersome can be incarcerated or expelled.

The machine of expulsion isn't just a despicable mechanism of repression and social control, but also a mirror into the reality that we inhabit. Millions of women, men and children come looking for more hospitable living conditions, pushed out by war, misery or because of the daily disasters of industrial production. To greet them they find police, concentration camps and later deportation; this is when they haven't found death, in sea or in the desert, along the way.

In particular, in the Salento (the land where we all live, the peninsula situated to the southeast of Italy—the heel of the boot so that we understand each other) is the “Regina Pacis,” a Center for Temporary Residence –CPT– or Temporary Stay Center for immigrants. It is situated on the east coast of the Salento, towards Albania and Greece.

The Centers of Incarceration for Immigrants in Italy

According to Italian law, the centers for immigrants are divided into Centers of First Identification (which of late have replaced Centers of First Welcome) and Centers for Temporary Residence. The latter are the most brutal face of the mechanism of expulsion: structures created by the Center-Left government in 1998, having as its objective the incarceration of all *clandestinos* (immigrants without regular papers), to verify the identity of the immigrants and to facilitate expulsion decrees.

The new law of the Center-Right has increased the maximum time of detention from 30 to 60 days.

Today in Italy, 14 CPTs exist, many others are under construction and there will be 28 in total as ordered by a new law, with a minimum of one per region.

Why CPTs as an Object of Struggle

The choice of a continuous struggle against these jails in general, and against the Saletine one in particular, has come about because of the necessity of concentrating the majority of our time and energy on one single objective in order to make the struggle itself concrete.

It is important to say that this struggle has not developed in a compartmentalized, exclusive or specialized way. What we already understand is that these centers (and the repression that is outside of them) are only one face of state violence and its domination across the land.

The expression of violence has found much room in our region, the Puglia: being both land on the border and a passageway of people arriving from the east or south, it has become a permanently fortified area over the past several years with an increase in militarization and social control which has affected everyone.

To justify the incarceration of such people, the executioners of the pen (journalists) have created the image of the immigrant (and especially of the *clandestino*) as a public enemy who causes conflict with the local exploited and they also describe them as criminals and low-cost reserve labor, ready to steal jobs from the locals. What's more is that this has grown stronger with alarm over international terrorism and the arabo-islamic danger.

For us, the struggle against these centers, against expulsions and that which supports them isn't a humanitarian question, nor a form of democratic anti-racism or of "third worldism" —that identifies immigrants as the new revolutionary subject— rather it signifies the necessity of recognizing and showing solidarity with individuals that live in the same conditions of exploitation and uprootedness, which means beginning to attack a particular structure of power.

Without a doubt, the militarization of entire neighborhoods, police dragnets in the streets, ever more unbearable and odious conditions of

work and living that are imposed upon us affects both the immigrant (naturalized or not changes little) and natives in the same way.

When and How the Struggle Began

The institution of CPTs has changed the course of the Regina Pacis Foundation. In its beginning it was managed by the local church as a summer camp for children. Abandoned for several years, it was turned into a Center of First Welcome during the second half of the 90s with the arrival en masse of Albanian refugees. In 2001 we began with a diffusion of counter-informational material to explain the real function of the Regina Pacis and to lay bare the interpretation that economic and state power wants to give to the phenomenon of migration —an image shown through mass media that describes it as an invasion that must be repelled. To this we added demonstrations (generally in front of the center), which a few times had involved other individuals from the antagonistic left (with rage and/or solidarity but without flags in hand). Demonstrations were called especially on occasions that affected the incarcerated



(like the spread of contagious diseases, hunger strikes, petitions for asylum, etc.), on occasions when the issue reached the national level, and on the occasion of summits whose principal theme was the control of immigration.

At the beginning of 2002, the diffusion of a document written by some comrades concerning the question of immigration and the struggle against these places (like nazi concentration camps), gave us the motivation to begin a more constant and conscious campaign.

From then, the distribution of flyers, posters put up in the streets and other counter informational material have become tools of primary importance not only in exposing the police-role played by the Regina Pacis (incarcerating and helping to expel immigrants), but in explaining the close relationship between the economy and "clandestinization" of individuals with the aim of obtaining grand pools of reserve labor power (a labor force that is easily manipulated through blackmail and through the precarious situation of lacking papers—truly modern slaves). Additionally they have been useful instruments in explaining the

real interests of the church of Lecce and of all the businesses co-managing the center: given that the State provides variable daily payments for each person incarcerated (and those for Regina Pacis are among the highest) one can easily understand the strong economic interest of the Foundation and the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. To confirm this it must be said that over the years the Foundation has turned itself into a true multinational of "charity," opening centers of a different type (another in Italy and five more in Moldova) taking on every task: the rehabilitation of prostitutes and street children, of refugees, and distribution of food to the poor...

In an interview with that son of a bitch Father Cesare Lodeserto, priest and director of the Regina Pacis Foundation, he boasted that Moldova produces 10,000 *clandestinos* each year. This does nothing more than confirm that they are considered merchandise.



How the Struggle Continues (or at least how it has continued)

These prisons are not simply those who manage them. Although banal, it is a fundamental fact that even though these terrible places and everything connected with them appear untouchable and un-attackable –like all structures of power—they are not, because they are made up of people, places and things. This basic fact has developed through the gathering of information about those who collaborate with the Regina Pacis, like businesses or people who sell their wares and/or services, and those who work for the foundation: employees, doctors, guards, directors...

At the time we were carrying out this activity, we were increasing the number of demonstrations in front of the Center in solidarity with the incarcerated, in particular when revolts and escape attempts were on the rise.

During the time of this work there was a considerable increase in people involved in the struggle, direct actions, sabotage, methods of critique, as well as counter-information (always done in the streets), murals and moments of open confrontation on the occasion of public interventions against those responsible.

Incendiary attacks, and not only incendiary ones, have increased as well; against banks that manage the Foundation's money and against structures involved with the Foundation on other levels.

The aspect of struggle least dealt with has without a doubt been the involvement of those most interested in the problem, in other words the immigrants. This has happened in spite of having made a few attempts. This has probably happened as much from our own deficiency in seeking out relations with them, as from their difficult position, which allows them to be easily blackmailed and/or persecuted by the police.

The Objective of the Struggle and the Current Situation

We do not want CPTs –like jails— to become more humane or respectful of human rights or legality. We simply do not want them. For this reason we want to close the Regina Pacis. Without a doubt this is the principal objective. Despite a

few moments of rest, there will be no truce until the this happens.

Repression will not cease either and recently it has increased, through searches, charges, investigations, arrests, harassment during demonstrations and micro-GPS tracers in cars. All of this has not weakened the struggle, but rather it has increased the level of confrontation and has put the Regina Pacis Foundation in the middle of a serious controversy. Now we will speak about the current situation.

At the beginning of this year the bosses of the local clerical hierarchy declared that they did not want to renew the contract with the Italian state and expressed their desire to transform it into a "Multi-purpose Center for Immigration." Apart from the fact that such centers do not exist under law, it is important to mention that March 13, the bastard priest, and director, was incarcerated. Already under investigation and with a case in process, he, along with 10 officials, 6 orderlies and 2 doctors, is charged with violence and other acts against a group of North Africans who tried to escape. Now he is under arrest awaiting trial, standing accused of violence, kidnapping and abuse of the means of corrections against four Moldavian women who were incarcerated in a reform center for prostitution in the north of Italy.

We don't believe in the State's justice and it doesn't make us happy to see it in process. As anarchists we are against prisons and against torturers. If we didn't live in this backwards world, the just thing to do with respect to these terrorists would be isolation from the community and social disdain.

Apart from this question, at the end of April the dismantling of fences, barbed wire and the CPT's cameras began.

Aside from the incarceration of the priest, which gave the definitive and lethal blow, if the closing of the center is now possible, it is because the costs now outweigh the benefits. Apart from the considerable and noticeable pressure the struggle has put on the church and the foundation, it is important to keep in mind that the bad image they have acquired is as much from the trials as it is from the many escapes and revolts, particularly last summer's, which unmasked the real nature of the center.

Now with this closing, the same role will be assumed by another center that is finishing construction in Bari (the biggest city in the region). This center will be located within the "Finanzen" base—of the Italian military. It will be much harder to escape from there. For this reason one of our goals is to create a coordination of opposition at the regional level.

In addition to the larger struggle—at a national level—for over a year *Tempi di Guerra* (Times of War) has been published, which is a journal specifically for the question we are involved with along with other comrades.

All of this because of the intolerable presence of these places and for their total and complete disappearance. For a world without States or borders.

Final Considerations

We live in an information society. We lack neither ideas nor perspectives. We think that which we lack is a direct practice against that which oppresses us. Practices that consider each question under discussion, along with the world (specific, authoritarian and capitalist) that creates them.

Gathering information, analyses that explain it all and also describe the movements of the enemy, get us nowhere and keeps us in the same world in which we now live. Nor does simply enumerating the thousand and one possible forms of resistance change little or anything at all.

On the other hand it is a question of finding the mechanism to stop/block them. It is a question of giving a voice to the impatience that exists and give its reasons. It is a question of identifying causes and naming their authors. Doing this, the situation ceases to be inevitable.

Clearly a perspective of struggle of this type can be extended from human liberation to that of the Earth and animals, to the liberation of all.

Small Update

The European Union, which until now has controlled the politics of immigration in a more or less indirect way, will in a few months become more explicit and directly controlling.

Last month the members of justice and interior of the European Union agreed to the creation of a system of information and prior warning in the case of important decision concerning immigration such as the naturalization of "illegals," that could affect other member States. The European Commission has to present a further proposal concerning this.

COMRADES UNDER ARREST IN LECCE

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STRANGERS EVERYWHERE



ABOUT SOME ANARCHISTS ARRESTED IN LECCE AND A WORLD WHERE NO ONE CAN FEEL AT HOME

On Thursday, May 12, in a massive show of force, the Digos (Italian political police) arrested five anarchists in Lecce, Italy. The arrested are Annalisa Capone, Angela Marina Ferrari (Marina), Cristian Palladini, Salvatore Signore and Saverio Pellegrino.

The police show of force in this situation could appear absurd. In operation "nighttime", as the cops termed this series of raids, searches and arrests, one hundred and fifty cops were deployed in the region of Lecce alone. These included canine units, border cops, postal cops, units from the Central Antiterrorism service, bomb specialists, a helicopter and so on.

Charges against the arrested anarchists include:

- Subversive association with the intent of terrorism and the subversion of the democratic state
- Attacks against the Cathedral of Lecce and Father Cesare Lodeserto's house; Lodeserto was the director of the "Center for Temporary Residence" (CPT, i.e. concentration camp for undocumented immigrants) in San Foca, Lecce, until he was arrested for private violence and kidnapping in relation to his treatment of inmates at the center
- Instigation to revolt, during a march in front of the CPT that ended in conflicts

- Attacks against ATMs of Banca Intesa, where the Regina Pacis Foundation, the organization through which the good priest ran the concentration camp in San Foca, kept their funds
- Telephone "harassment" against collaborators in maintaining the operation of the CPT
- "Defamation" of these collaborators in flyers
- Dirtying the entrance of the house of one of these collaborators with paint
- Organizing an unauthorized march against the Benetton corporation that is taking over large portions of Patagonia (the southern portion of Chile and Argentina) and driving the Mapuche people off their land
- Dirtying the windows of a shop owned by Benetton
- Damaging pumps at an Esso gas station; Esso is the European branch of Exxon, fuel suppliers for the war in Iraq and Afghanistan
- Occupying the empty and unused space, Capolinea
- Writing messages on walls

These charges refer to actions that have taken place over the past two years.

In addition to these arrests, ten other people were informed that they were under investigation, eight for subversive association with the intent of terrorism and two for unauthorized demonstration. The cops closed down and seized the anarchist occupied space, Capolinea, and carried out searches against anarchists all over Italy (in Lecce, Aosta, Turin, Trento, Trieste, Chieti, Cagliari, Taranto and Catania).

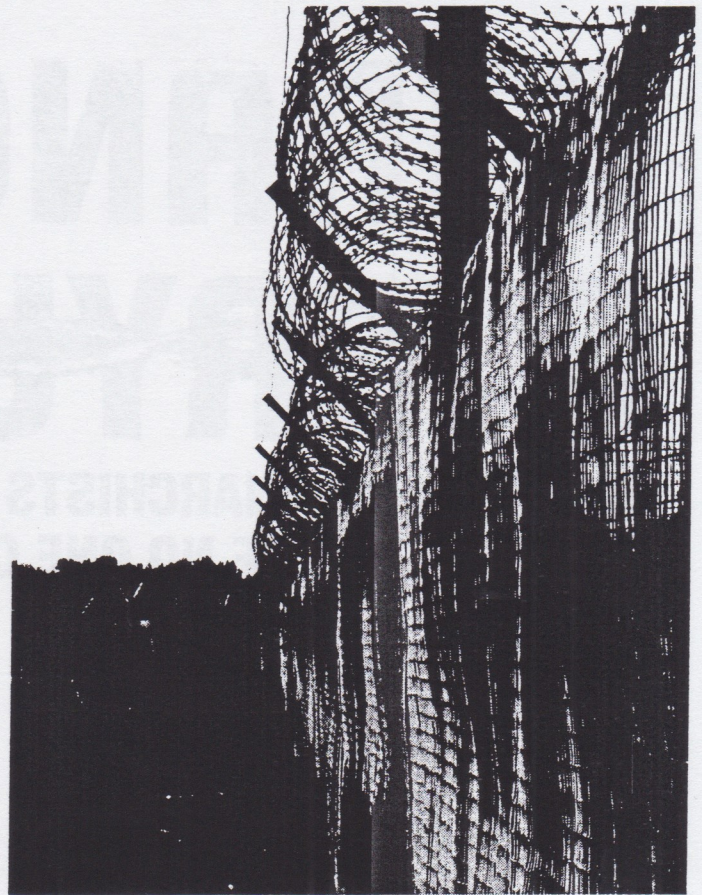
I do not know whether those arrested had anything to do with the activities for which they are charged, nor do I care. Guilt or innocence do not interest me since such terms belong to the justice system and the state. My solidarity is based on seeing my own struggle in that of the comrades, seeing possibilities for complicity and mutuality, even across an ocean.

No home in this world

The real crime of the comrades of Lecce is that they have quite openly expressed their solidarity with rebelling immigrants in the CPTs and with the Mapuche fighting against being dispossessed in South America, as well as their disgust for the war in Iraq. In doing so, they have recognized what they have in common with the undocumented immigrants, the Mapuches losing their land and the Iraqis having their homes destroyed before their very eyes by self-proclaimed "liberators" –that they too are among the dispossessed and exploited who increasingly have no place in this world, no home, who are strangers everywhere they go.

Undocumented Immigrants and Democratic Concentration Camps

The number of immigrants roaming the globe trying to escape repression, war, poverty and starvation is growing exponentially as this world falls apart. Social, economic, environmental and political disaster are everywhere. So the immigrants in the CPTs in Italy have their brothers and sisters throughout the world, not all of whom are in concentration camps. In Italy as elsewhere, undocumented immigrants in and outside of these concentration camps have begun to rebel. It only makes sense that anarchists would respond with solidarity, since they too are also strangers in this world. In fact, the undocumented immigrant is simply the most blatant expression of the pre-



carious reality that capital is imposing on all of the exploited at present. Capital and the state are spreading devastation into every corner of the globe, poisoning those lands that they haven't yet stolen, where a few still manage to create their lives on their own terms. Just as the homeless within the borders are not simply individuals who love sleeping in doorways and under bridges, so the immigrants from outside the borders are not carefree nomads wandering for the love of adventure. Desperate conditions of poverty, environmental devastation, war and political repression have forced them to take to the road in hopes of finding anything even slightly better. And for their desperation and poverty, they find themselves criminalized, defined by racist propaganda as dangerous and undesirable elements. In every country, capital needs cheap labor. The most desperate, those who live in daily fear of capture and deportation, are the most easily blackmailed. If they do not accept the worst of conditions at the lowest pay, they are not needed and can be turned over to the authorities. In turn, the rulers present these immigrants to the local exploited as a threat to their own precarious jobs, using this as blackmail to enforce servility among all of the exploited. This makes it easy to use racist and nationalist ideologies to prevent solidarity be-

tween immigrants and "native-born" exploited who are deluded into believing that they have more in common with the masters who exploit them than with those who have been forced into desperate wandering. But those in power understand the real threat of those that they have excluded. If the Nazis began to build their concentration camps as the places of exception for holding those who, in their eyes, constituted objective threats to the state (political dissidents, homosexuals, Jews and gypsies) simply because they did not fit in, the various refugee camps, holding centers and "Centers for Temporary Residence," as the Italian humanitarians so euphemistically call them, are the concentration camps of the modern democratic states—not metaphorically, but literally, because they are places for holding those who are perceived as objective threats to that state, outside of the arena of civil rights, stripped of all but that bare minimum recognized as "human rights." This exposes the poverty of the democratic state of rights, in which there are only ciphers whose values are defined in abstract terms that prove, in the end, to be economic.

As these concentration camps for undocumented immigrants have spread throughout the world, and particularly the democratic states, they have become hotbeds of rebellions. Riots, hunger strikes and planned escapes are frequent. Those locked up inside are not resigning themselves to their imprisonment. This is why solidarity is possible. Since those locked up in these specialized prisons are rebelling against the reality imposed upon them, we can find ways to intertwine our own struggles against the larger social prison that is our daily reality with their specific struggle. The destruction of these concentration camps for the undocumented requires the active destruction of this social order that turns the entire world into a prison-shopping mall.

One such concentration camp exists in Lecce, the CPT of San Foca, run by the Regina Pacis Foundation, a Catholic charity. Up until recently it was under the direction of Father Cesare Lodeserto. This contemptible lackey of god lost his position when it was found that he was torturing inmates at the camp. As if being locked up simply for being in desperate straits were not torture already. But the democratic state must keep its hands clean of excesses like those of Father Lodeserto. It needs its scapegoats to prove its own humaneness. In any case, the anarchists in Lecce recognize that the excesses of Lodeserto were simply an exten-

sion of the logic of the concentration camps and the world that creates them. They have no interest in making these hellholes more humane. They want to destroy them and the world that creates them, a world that has objectively estranged all of the exploited, stealing away our capacity to create our lives on our own terms. And so they expressed their solidarity with the rebellion of those inside the concentration camps, and this is the crime for which they have been arrested.

The Mapuche and Dispossession

The Mapuche are an indigenous people of Patagonia the southern portion of Argentina and Chile. Like all indigenous people, they suffered from the original European invasion of the area. But for some time they have managed to create their lives on the basis of small-scale agriculture and animal husbandry in the region. This has become increasingly difficult as capitalist projects intrude more and more into this area. ENDESA, the Spanish multinational electric company has been building hydroelectric facilities along the course of the Bio-bio River in Chile, a project that has met with much resistance from the Mapuche including marches and demonstrations, but also sabotage of machinery. But perhaps the biggest and most devastating intrusion into the lives of the Mapuche in recent years has been that of the "progressive" multinational Benetton. This company, with its anti-racist, pro-environmental, progressive image, bought several hundred thousand acres of land in Patagonia where the Mapuche had been living. Along with its own exploitation of the area, Benetton has granted mining rights and rights to search for underground minerals and hydrocarbon to various multinational companies, and has been involved in building highways, airports, railroads and so on in the area. If Benetton is the most devastating of the forces of capitalism dispossessing the Mapuche, the most bizarre and, in certain ways, telling is the Human Genome Diversity Project. It has requested five hundred specimens of genetic material from this tribe of about eight thousand to preserve in its storage facilities. The tribe has refused to cooperate, seeing this equation of people with a small group of molecules within their body as a symptom of what is wrong with this society in which everything, including human beings is simply a resource, a commodity. This massive dispossession of the indigenous people of the region has not been accepted silently. Mapuche resistance

has been consistent and often fierce. Along with demonstrations and battles with the police, there have been attempts to occupy portions of the land Benetton took over. The Mapuche are not accepting dispossession and the consequent proletarianization that is being imposed on them quietly.

War and Resistance in Iraq

The Iraqis have been watching their home get devastated from the beginning of the "first" Gulf War: by the intensive bombing of that war, by the sanctions and continuing bombing over the next twelve years and by the new officially recognized war of the past two years. I have no illusions about the resistance there. Portions of it, possibly quite significant portions, are under the influence of nationalist or sectarian ideologies, embracing an artificial solidarity imposed by a collective identity. At the same time, despite the horrific circumstances, a large part of the resistance has remained truly social in nature, showing a clarity about who the real enemies are. While attacks against American military and "private"* targets as well as against Iraqi police and military forces go on apace, inter-sectarian and ethnic violence has been minimal so far, despite a US policy that seems clearly intended to promote this sort of hostility between Iraqis. The resistance in Iraq, however deformed it may be by the circumstances there, is also a desperate fight against the destruction of their homes. For years now, the US and its allies have been forcing the Iraqi exploited into the role of strangers in their own land. There is seventy percent (or more) unemployment in Iraq. The only jobs available are services to the invaders. And these invaders destroy entire cities where hundreds of thousands of people once lived. A prime example is the city of Fallujah, which American troops devastated in the search for insurgents last November. The

population was driven out or killed, houses were destroyed by the thousands and chemicals used in the siege continue to pollute what is now largely a ghost town. Only twenty percent of the original population has dared to venture back, and to enter the city that had been their home, they are forced to give their fingerprints and retina scan to the American invaders who keep them on file in order to monitor the comings and goings of the population. Truly, the Iraqi population –all but the few willing to be puppets– are becoming strangers in their own home. This is what they are resisting.

There is a common thread that runs through each of these situations – the thread of the dispossession, proletarianization and exploitation that capitalism spreads everywhere. The system of capitalism indeed forms a totality, but its development is not the same everywhere. If we in the so-called Western world have been long since dispossessed of the means for making our lives on our own terms directly from what the earth offers, in other places this process of dispossession is going on right now. And the circumstances in which it is developing are quite different. Yet it is the recognition of the common thread that can provide the basis for solidarity in the battle against the impositions of the ruling order. The struggle of the Mapuche or the West Papuans is class struggle inasmuch as it is a struggle against the class relationships capital imposes, a struggle against being proletarianized. In the West, we were dispossessed and forced into the class relationships of capitalism long ago. But our struggle to take back our lives is also a fight against the class relationships that have defined our lives now for centuries. If this can take the form of resistance for those who are only now being dispossessed of the means by which they have created their lives, for us here, it must take the form of destructive attack. But despite the specific differences in how each of us struggles where they are, it is in this common struggle against the class relationships imposed by capital and the state that the real possibility for active solidarity and the interweaving of struggles exists.

Showing Solidarity

Solidarity is not an obligation, but a choice based in mutuality. If I choose to express solidarity with any struggles, any comrades, any prisoners, it is because I see my battle to take back my life and live it on my terms within them. This is why the



most essential aspect of solidarity is the continuation of the struggles and revolts we share with our comrades here where we are.

Understood in this way, solidarity is never with the suffering of others –that would merely be pity, not true solidarity. Rather it is precisely with the ferocity with which they refuse to accept their suffering. This is why questions of guilt or innocence are of no importance in relation to solidarity with arrested and imprisoned comrades. What matters is that we know that they are fighting the state and its servants and that currently the state has chosen to strike them fiercely for attacking it.

The five comrades arrested in Lecce, the ten under investigation and the dozens whose homes were invaded by cops all recognize what their daily revolt shares in common with others of the exploited who rebel. All of these comrades acted in their own way to express their complicity and solidarity with the rebellions of those in the CPTs, in Patagonia, in Iraq and in other places against this imposed existence.

In the same way, my solidarity with Salvatore, Saverio, Cristian, Marina, Annalisa and the other comrades in Italy starts from a recognition of complicity and mutuality, seeing my own rebellion in theirs. The greatest act of solidarity would be to find the places where my struggle can interweave with those they are involved in, and thus also with the revolts of undocumented immigrants, the Mapuche, the portions of Iraqi resistance that remain free of sectarian and nationalist rackets and act there. In this way, the threads of revolt can weave an ever-expanding tapestry. The forces of domination, exploitation and repression are the same here as in Italy, Patagonia and Iraq, even if the specific methods of their functioning vary due to differing circumstances. We can find the links in the chain of exploitation that connect us with the comrades in Italy and with all the exploited and dispossessed in revolt and aim our attacks at these points. And this is true solidarity which gives substance to any support we may choose to give the arrested comrades, showing its basis in complicity rather than charity or duty.

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Note

* Since a large part of the foreign private enterprise in Iraq is in the area of security and mercenary armies, a large portion of these "private targets" are actually also military.

SOME OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE

The Italian state

Banca Intesa

The Regina Pacis Foundation

**All police and border guard institutions
– the Department of Homeland Security
in the US**

Red Cross– this "humanitarian organization" plays a major supportive role in the various concentration camps for undocumented immigrants throughout the world. It also intervenes in areas where war or other disasters occur to play a pacifying role towards potentially rebellious populations

Benetton and its subsidiaries and partners: HMSHost– runs food franchises in airports and truck stops. They have connections with Burger King and Pizza Hut to name a few; AltidasUSA– an America subsidiary of Benetton, through Aldeasa S.A., involved in cigar distribution, including Don Diego, El Producto, H. Upmann, Montecrist, Dutch Treats and Supre Sweets; Selective Beauty; Mattel– recently went into partnership with Benetton; Boyner Group; Tecnica; Nordica; Rollerblade; Sisley – this clothing subsidiary of Benetton was the first in which the microchips were placed; Philips– one of the companies supplying the microchips; LAB ID– in partnership with Philips, supplying microchips.

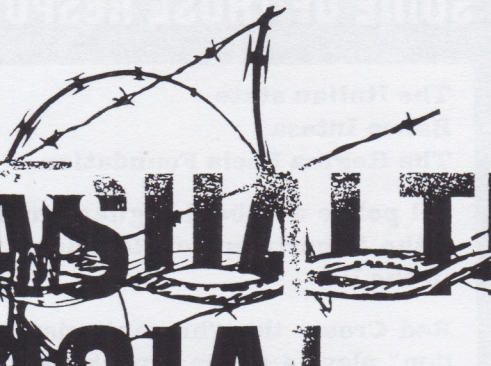
ENDESA– the Spanish multinational electric company that has been damming the Biobio river in Mapuche territory.

REPSOL-YPF– a Spanish multinational energy company exploiting and poisoning Mapuche land to find new oil sources.

Meridan Gold– a Canadian mining company given rights to mine on the "Benetton land" in Patagonia.

The Chilean and Argentine states– that encourage all this.

Those responsible for the slaughter in Iraq and Afghanistan surround us, though obviously the US government and companies such as Exxon (Esso) deserve particular attention.



CASUALTIES OF A SOCIAL DISASTER

IMMIGRANTS IN THE AFTERMATH OF HURRICANE KATRINA

In the present world, it is no longer possible to talk of purely natural disasters. On every level, disasters are always social. This is especially clear in terms of the effects they have on the different people caught in their midst.

Hurricane Katrina made this so clear that even pundits in the service of the ruling regime had to speak of "class war" in reference to its aftermath. The state's priorities were obvious from the beginning: the restoration of order and the reestablishment of functioning capitalist relationships as quickly as possible. These priorities moved the state to act openly against the various self-organized actions people were taking to meet their own needs in an emergency situation, to such an extent that state activity interfered with its own proclaimed end of aiding those caught in the storm.

The stories of the ways that people organized their own activity are quite worthy of examination. Though remaining on the level of survival, due to the state's interference, these activities were an expression of social war. Out of necessity, the poor people of New Orleans and the surrounding area had to attack the institutions of property and of the state in order to meet their needs. There

was no way to hide the fact that these institutions stood in the way of real human need.

But this is not the story I want to tell here. The region struck by the hurricane (southern Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana in the United States) has a significant immigrant population. Many of these immigrants do not have documents. Since they are at the bottom of the social hierarchy, this disaster struck them even more harshly than the rest of the region's poor.

It is estimated that there were about 300,000 immigrants living in the region struck by Katrina (though the official number is closer to 150,000, showing how many are undocumented). These included a large number of Hondurans (about 120,000 many of whom were refugees from Hurricane Mitch which tore through Honduras in 1998), other Latin Americans, Bangladeshis, Vietnamese and others. They face specific problems that those that the state recognizes as citizens do not.

In a CRS Report for Congress (Order Code RL33091), we find a bureaucratic assessment of some of these problems in a language devoid of humanity. Despite this language, one can learn a few things by reading this report. Many immigrants who had their papers in good order lost them in the storm and have nothing to prove their status. In addition, many immigrants are only allowed in the country because they have a job or a place in a university here or relatives who already live here and are capable of supporting them. The damage that Katrina caused has closed down many workplaces and schools, so that these immigrants are likely to have their status reassessed. And many of their supporting relatives are now themselves in need. Thus, many immigrants who had their documents in order now face the loss of their status, with the threat of deportation. In

addition, the undocumented and those who lost their papers in the storm rightly fear asking for aid. The bureaucrats list all of these problems, and then go on to speak in the terms one would expect, asking what is necessary to reestablish and maintain control while promoting a quick return to normality, and basing any policy of aid to immigrants on this priority.

The United States government public relations apparatus has tried to present a humanitarian face, but the reality has been obvious from the beginning. While Bush and other people in the government told immigrants that they could feel safe applying for aid regardless of their immigration status, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was unwilling to promise not to deport those without documents who applied for disaster relief. And yet the US government apparently promised several Latin American governments that immigrants from their countries had nothing to fear regardless of their status. By September 28, this promise had been proven to be a lie, after five immigrants who had applied for aid found themselves facing deportation proceedings. As expected no one in the administration was willing to take responsibility for this lie.

Although the DHS was unwilling to make any promises to undocumented immigrants, it proved its compassion for the rich glowingly. Aware that employers in the region would be looking for cheap labor, particularly for the rebuilding of New Orleans (most likely as a kind of Cajun Disney World in which there will be no place left for the poor), it has temporarily suspended sanctions against employers that hire workers who don't have documents proving their immigration status. So while every immigrant who lacks documents whether because they never got them or because they lost them in the hurricane will have to continue to live in fear of being detained and deported, while employers will have even easier access to cheap labor, guaranteeing the quick reestablishment of fully operational capitalist relationships in the region.

The treatment of immigrants in this situation has, of course, become another cause for reformist moral crusaders in the United States to latch on to, lamenting the injustices of the government response to the situation. But this response is not an injustice from the standpoint of the ruling order. It is the only response we could expect

from the rulers of this world. Their top priorities were to reestablish their control and to guarantee the healthy revival of capitalist relationships in the region. Their actions with regards to immigrants in the region were aimed precisely toward these ends. Non-immigrant poor and exploited managed to find ways to fight to meet their own needs in the situation, temporarily overcoming the usually one-sided nature of the social war in the US, but I have found no evidence that the wall between non-immigrant and immigrant, documented and undocumented poor and exploited people was breached in this situation. Particularly in light of the recent uprisings in France, we need to put every effort into overcoming this division along with all the others that the rulers of this world impose on us. This is an essential part of learning how to take advantage of the unexpected ruptures that can open the door to social upheaval. And in a world where anything can happen, those of us who want to overturn this world need to be prepared to seize these opportunities.

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ACTION REPORTS



February 27 Jakarta, Indonesia- West Papuans and Indonesian environmentalists attacked riot police and the headquarters of Freeport-McMoran Copper & Gold Inc. Demonstrators were able to break through police lines and smashed the building's first floor windows. Police used a water cannon and "snatch squads" to suppress the demonstration. The days action was a culmination of four days of marches and road blockades that closed down the world's largest gold and copper mining operation.

February 27 Leicester, England- Arson is suspected in a fire at a Swann Systems UK factory. The smoke and fire caused extensive damage in the tens of thousands of pounds to most of the factory's stock. Swann Systems UK is one of the largest home security companies, manufacturing surveillance hardware and information technology including CCTV systems. Swann has reported that sales of their security cameras and other devices has increased ten fold over the last year. Obviously not everyone is happy with that.

February 21 Napo Province, Ecuador- Hundreds of people stormed the Sardina pumping station, 55 miles east of Quito, forcing the closure of the OCP pipeline. They are demanding the release of millions of dollars by the government to the surrounding communities of the impoverished Napo region. Some 24 pipeline workers were kidnapped but later managed to slip away while soldiers tried to negotiate with the people barricading themselves inside the station. Since protests began, at least five people have been wounded, including two policemen, after the insurgents tossed rocks and dynamite at military forces who responded with gunfire and tear gas.

February 20 Nantes, France- A group of several dozen people is currently occupying the trees which are on the future site of the E.P.M. d'Orvault (a prison for minors), near the city of Nantes, in an attempt to stop the construction.

February 20 Tucson, Arizona- Five homes under construction were destroyed by fire. Authorities suspect the fires were intentionally set. The homes were in Rancho Sahuarita, a massive and fast-growing development. Damage is estimated at \$500,000.

February 18 Athens, Greece- Five banks in central Athens and the suburbs of Argypolis, Halandri, Peristeri and Nea Smyrni were damaged by homemade explosive devices made with cooking gas canisters. The explosions occurred at branches of National Bank, Bank of Cyprus, Emporiki Bank and American Bank of Albania, damaging ATM machines, windows and sparking fires.

February 17 Shropshire, Wales, UK- Ten thousand pounds of damage was caused to cars at a Shropshire Royal Air Force base after unknown persons set them on fire. There have been up to eight arson attacks at the RAF base at Cosford during the past few months. One of these fires was set near a gas main though it did not explode. Two months ago three other vehicles were attacked.

February 15, Exmoor, England- The Animal Liberation Front visited the Woodland Wild Boar farm for the third time, and liberated the boar which were re-captured after an ALF visit in December. This was the third attack on this farm. In the first and second attacks, well over a hundred wild boar were set free.

February 11 Beaverton, Alabama- Another rural Baptist church in Alabama was damaged by fire, increasing the number to 10 of churches recently torched by arson. The latest church, Beaverton Free Will Baptist, was set on fire during the daytime -- the first church thus far not set on fire at night. It was severely damaged. All of the churches attacked recently have been Baptist. Five are predominantly black churches, five predominantly white. Four of the 10 churches were

Southern Baptist. Five church fires were set late Feb. 2, followed by another four late Feb. 6. Five of the 10 churches were destroyed.

February 8 Maranhao State, Brazil- Indians from the Guajajara tribe took hostage four workers from the world's leading iron ore miner to press demands for better public health care. This came after they blocked the Carajas to Sao Luis railway earlier that day. The line carries iron ore, manganese, pig iron, soybeans and 1,000 passengers daily to the port of Ponta da Madeira. Last November, Indians invaded a town near the important Carajas iron ore mines threatening to paralyze production. In early December they blocked an iron ore export railway line in central Minas Gerais.

February 7 Las Heras, Argentina- Two hundred oil workers armed with sticks, fire bombs and guns broke into a police station, killing an officer and injuring 14 others in an attempt to free a union leader. Five policemen were shot. Over the past two weeks they have put up roadblocks in demand for higher wages. Recently several workers were arrested for the death of the police officer.

February 4 Chanteloup-les-Vingnes, France- Sixty youths armed with pick-handles attacked a police station and steered a blazing car into its courtyard in this western Paris suburb. They were reacting to the police killing a man from Chanteloup during a robbery in Paris last week. Firemen who came to the station to put out the blazing car were pelted with stones. Eventually, more police arrived and three youths were arrested.

February 1 Alvin, Texas- An excavator backhoe used in local infrastructure maintenance was set on fire, completely destroying the \$280,000 piece of equipment. Two days earlier district workers cleaned graffiti on the backhoe shortly before the equipment was spray-painted again, and then set on fire. The district's bulldozer, along with two other privately owned bulldozers and a tractor, also were damaged with broken windows, graffiti and cut wires.

January 27 Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam- Workers in the city's southern industrial parks and export processing zones have been engaging in spontaneous, illegal strikes without authorization from trade unions. The government has been trying hard to attract foreign investment by offering a cheap and secure labor environment. But increasing inflation and a rise in the cost of living has caused tens of thousands of workers to walk off

the job over the past month. The strikes are reported to be spreading quickly.

January 20 Marshallville, Georgia- A man died in police custody after the cops shot him with pepper spray. A few hours later several people broke into the chief of police's house and burned it down.

January 15 Bayelsa State, Nigeria- Twenty people, including 13 soldiers, were feared killed as suspected militant youths blew up the Shell Petroleum Development Company's Benisede platform using dynamite, leading to a fire that consumed the boat house and platform. In the previous week four of the company's expatriate staff were kidnapped and taken hostage aboard an oil vessel off the Atlantic Ocean. Recent violence and sabotage in Nigeria has cut that nation's crude oil production by 10 percent. A unit of the Royal Dutch Shell Group pulled hundreds of workers from the Benisede and neighbouring flowstations (Opukushi, Ogbotobo and Tunu) after continued kidnappings and sabotage resulted in a loss of about 220,000 barrels per day of oil production.

January 17, Coupeville, Washington- A fire completely destroyed a three-story Camano Island home still under construction. The damage was around \$4.5 million. Firefighters responding to the fire found a bed sheet draped across a masonry gate in front of the house. The sheet was spray-painted with a threatening message associated with an environmental cause, though investigators refuse to disclose the actual message.

January 15 Payson, Arizona- Three heavy-duty vehicles -a loader, a trackhoe and a skid steer- were severely damaged at a cost of \$25,000. Numerous hydraulic, electrical and brake lines were slashed, gauges smashed and starters jammed. The machinery was being used as part of a pipe-laying project for three new subdivisions and other projects in town.

January 13 Alameda, California- Fire destroyed a tractor and damaged a dump truck at a housing development site. Rags soaked in gasoline were discovered near the vehicles, which firefighters found fully engulfed in flames.

January 9 Cagliari, Italy- In the night a bomb exploded at the carabinieri station of Vallemorsa in the province of Cagliari. The building was damaged, but did not catch fire.

Disclaimer: The contents of this magazine are in no way intended to encourage, instruct, incite or promote illegal activity.



RESOURCES



Publications:

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www.anti-politics.net/distro

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Internet Links:

Anti-Politics Forum
www.anti-politics.net

Anarcotico (Italy)
www.anarcotico.net

Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network (UK)
www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk

Guerra Sociale (Italy)
www.guerrasociale.org

Insurrectionary Anarchists of Seattle (US)
www.geocities.com/seainsur

Insurrectionary Anarchists of the Coast Salish Territories (Canada)
www.geocities.com/insurrectionary_anarchists

Mariposas del Caos (Argentina)
www.mariposasdelcaos.cjb.net

Palabras de Guerra (Spain)
pdg.mahost.org

Recommended Readings:

Against the Megamachine: Essays on Empire and its Enemies by David Watson
The Bonnot Gang by Richard Parry (story of the French illegalists)
Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerilla by Anne Hansen
Dynamite: A Century of Class Violence in America 1830-1930 by Louis Adamic
History of the Makhnovist Movement 1918-1921 by Peter Arshinov
The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic by Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker.
Rebels Against the Future: The Luddites and Their War on the Industrial Revolution by Kirkpatrick Sale
Sabate: Guerilla Extraordinary by Antonio Tellez (story of a Spanish anarchist guerilla)
Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background by Paul Avrich
(Italian-American insurrectionist history)

A MURDER OF CROWS
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